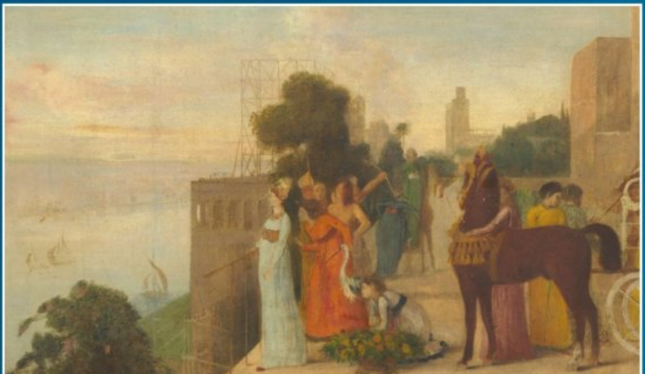
Diodorus' Mythistory and the Pagan Mission

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND CULTURE-HEROES IN THE FIRST PENTAD OF THE *BIBLIOTHEKE*



IRIS SULIMANI

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Diodorus' Mythistory and the Pagan Mission

Historiography and Culture-heroes in the First Pentad of the *Bibliotheke*

By

Iris Sulimani

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For Eran

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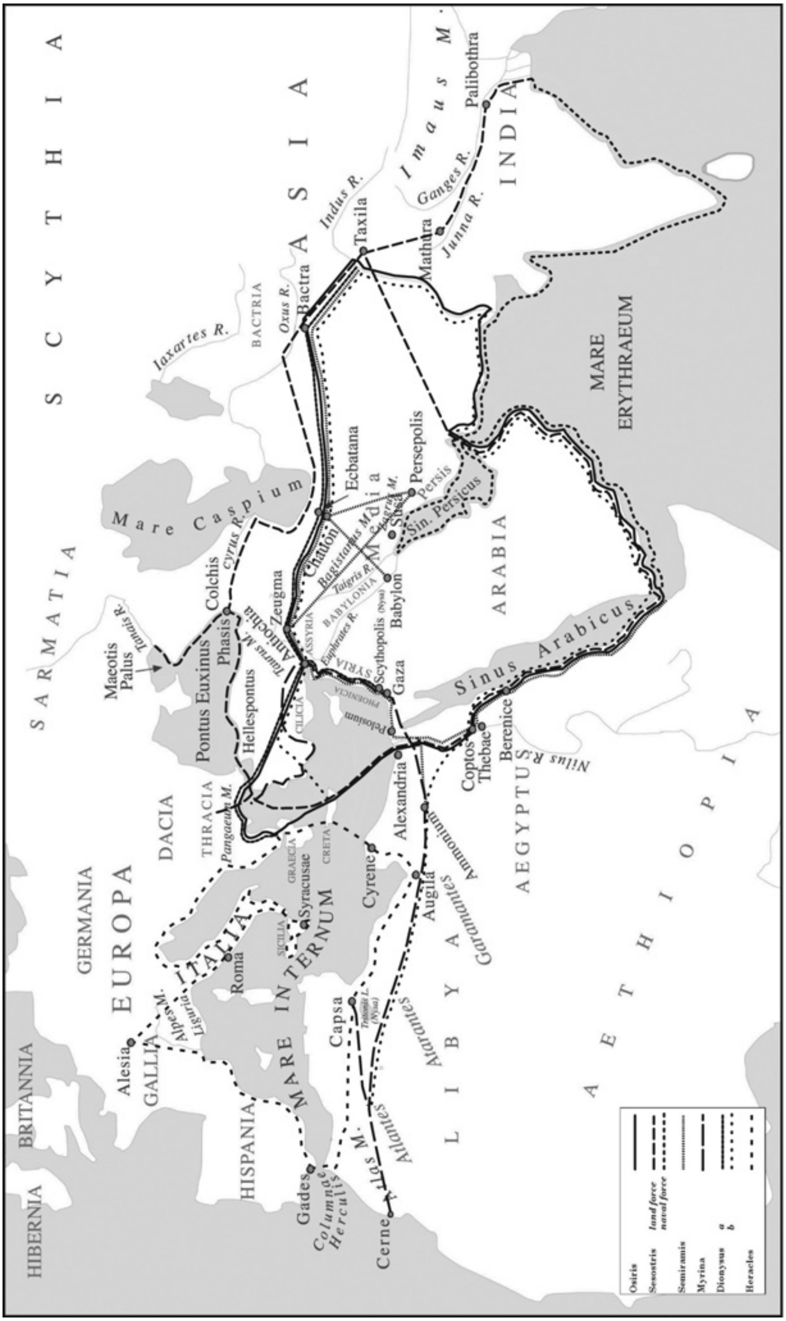

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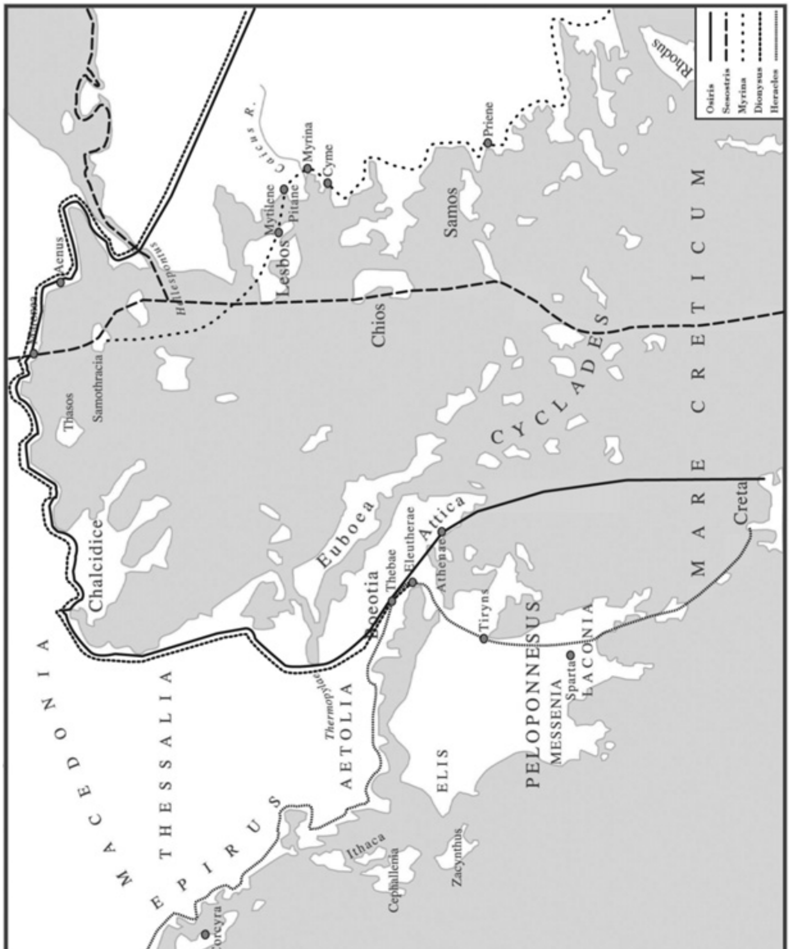

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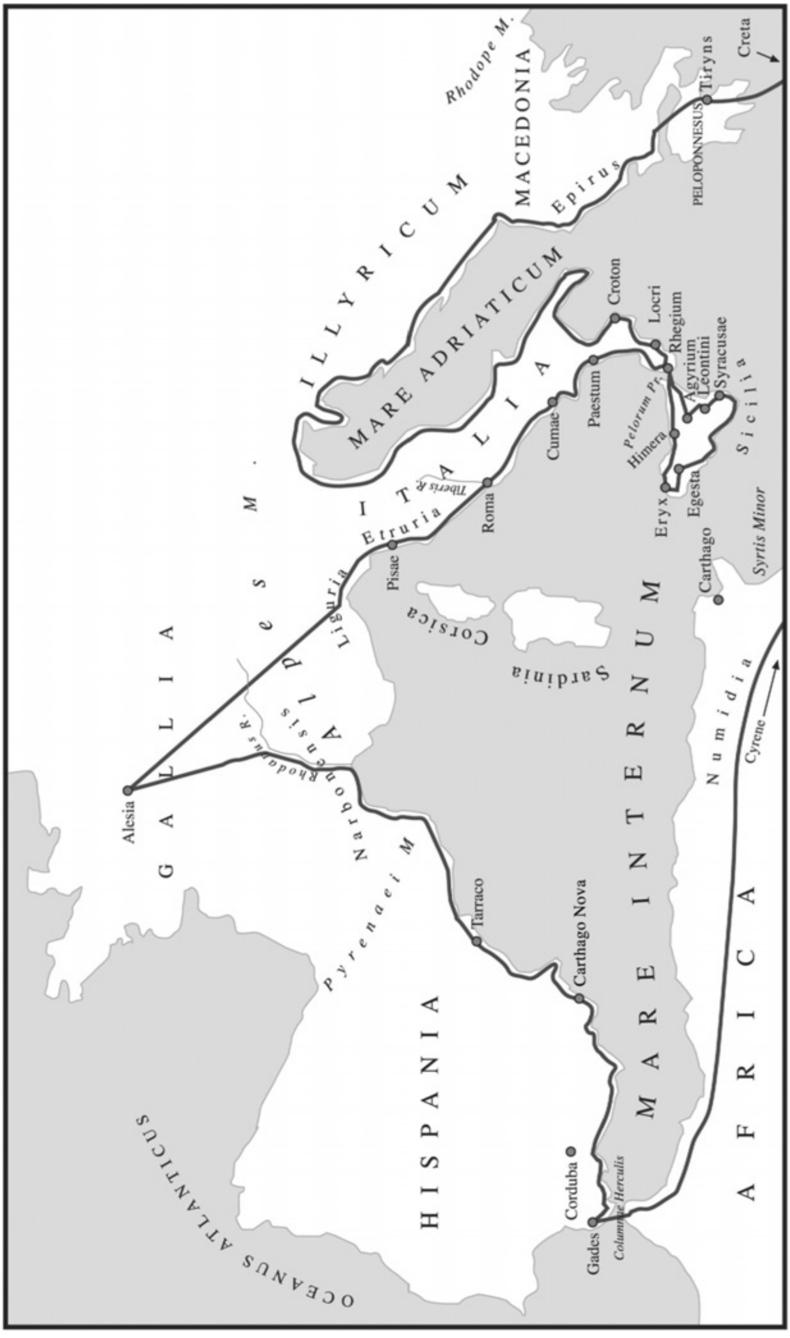

The Journey of Heracles in the Western Mediterranean Basin

PREFACE

It is impossible to remain indifferent to Diodorus Siculus. Over the ages scholars have either appreciated or depreciated his *Bibliotheke*. In his *Praeparatio Evangelica*, written c. 312–322 CE, Eusebius of Caesarea explains his decision to use Diodorus for his account of Egypt. Complimenting Diodorus on gathering his information from a variety of sources, on depicting the features of each people with exceptional accuracy and on binding together the earliest with the subsequent events, he adds that he was ἐπιφανὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ δόξαν οὐ μικρὰν παιδείας παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φιλολόγοις κτησάμενος (an eminent man and one who gained no small reputation for his education among all those fond of learning).[1] More than a millennium and a half later, in a letter dated 1836 CE, Lord Macaulay wrote: "I have finished Diodorus Siculus at last, after dawdling over him at odd times ever since last March. He is a stupid, credulous, prosing old ass; yet I heartily wish that we had a good deal more of him."[2] Such contradictory views can still be seen in our own day. Modern scholars are practically divided into two camps: those who disparage Diodorus' skills as a historian while putting emphasis on his sources and his debt to them, and those who esteem Diodorus' own contribution to his work. As for my attitude, it will become clear as one reads the very first pages of this book.

My work on Diodorus began more than ten years ago, as I was studying for my PhD at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The present monograph has its origins in my dissertation, yet is significantly different: it includes many innovations; the basic structure was changed and adapted

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[1] *Praep. Evang.*, II, *Praef.*, 6; cf. I.6.9. It is common knowledge that similar attitudes towards Diodorus prevailed during the Renaissance, when his work was translated into Latin and used by various scholars. See, for example, the reproduction of a page from Poggio Bracciolini's translation with the marginal notes of Giovanni Tortelli in Grafton 2007, p. 154, fig. 7.

[2] Letter to Ellis, November 30, 1836, in Trevelyan 1932, vol. 1, p. 422. Lord Macaulay's influence was still evident nearly one hundred years later; in his *Handbook of Greek Literature*, first published in 1934, H.J. Rose cites Macaulay and adds: "it goes without saying that the best which can be expected of him is that he will copy his authorities correctly, excerpt them not too ill … His book is a mine in which to dig for fragments of better works; if we had the older historians, no one would read him." (Rose 1964, p. 412).

to a new concept; certain parts were omitted, while others were added, and the remainder was revised and updated.

Since the analysis of Diodorus' *magnum opus* forms the heart of this study and since philological discussions were often needed, there are many Greek (and occasionally Latin) citations throughout the work. However, in order to facilitate its reading and to address non-classicists as well, I have attached English translations to the Greek and Latin quotations and, in the interest of rendering the original texts as accurately as possible, I sometimes adopted what may appear as a less elegant English. As a further means of making the book accessible to the general reader, I followed the conventional method in transliteration, using the Latinized forms of the Greek names[3] (e.g. terminations in *-us* and *-um* rather than *-os* and *-on*; *c* instead of *k*; Greek diphthongs *oi* and *ai* replaced by the Latin *oe* and *ae* respectively), unless the Greek form is also commonly used, as in the case of Βιβλιοθήκη, which I preferred to transliterate as *Bibliotheke*.

I would like to express my gratitude to Doron Mendels, my PhD supervisor, for his continuous guidance. I appreciate his willingness to read the entire manuscript and his helpful comments. I am deeply indebted to Ephraim David for reading each section of this monograph and for his many invaluable suggestions concerning both content and style. I am grateful to both of them for their constant support and encouragement. My thanks are also due to the anonymous reader at Brill for his/her useful remarks, to Caroline van Erp for her good advice and to Brill's cartographers for their assistance in adjusting the maps to black and white print. Finally, I wish to thank Eran Goldberg, my husband, for helping me draw up the maps and for his creative solutions to various problems which arose along the way.

November 2010

[3] As found in the standard reference works mentioned in the list of abbreviations.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations for ancient authors and works, as well as for collections of source material, follow the conventions of S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth (eds.), 1996, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. and H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, 1996, *Greek-English Lexicon*, with a revised supplement, Oxford. Titles of journals are abbreviated according to *L'Année Philologique*. The exceptions are listed below.

Ancient Authors, Works and Source Material

Athen.	Athenaeus
Case., *B Hisp.*	Caesar, *De Bello Hispaniensi*
Curt.	Curtius Rufus
Dio	Cassius Dio
Eust., *Comm.*	Eustathius, *Commentarii*
Eutrop.	Eutropius
Fest., *De Verb. Sig.*	Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De Verborum Significatu*
ILLRP	*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*
Isidor. Char., *Parth.*	Isidorus Characenus, *Stathmoi Parthikoi*
Liv.	Livy
Nep., *Hann.*	Nepos, *Hannibal*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
Peripl. Mar. Eryth.	*Periplus Maris Erythraei*
Plin.	Pliny
Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*	Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*
Schol. Ar.	*Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem*
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*
Tab. Peut.	*Tabula Peutingeriana*
Vib. Sequest.	Vibius Sequester

Journals

Ann. Arch. Anth.	*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
AOS	*Annals of Scholarship*
Econ. Hist. Rev.	*The Economic History Review*
GR	*The Geographical Review*
IJAR	*Israel Journal of Agricultural Research*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JMH	*The Journal of Modern History*
PACA	*Proceedings of the African Classical Association*

INTRODUCTION

How to define Diodorus' *Bibliotheke*? According to the author himself, it was a universal history (ἡ κοινὴ ἱστορία or αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις), yet later testimonies suggest otherwise. St. Jerome states that Diodorus was the author of a Greek history (*Graecae scriptor historiae*), while the *Suda* reads as follows: "Diodorus, the Sicilian historian, wrote a *Bibliotheke*; it is a Roman as well as a varied history in forty books" (Διόδωρος, Σικελιώτης, ἱστορικός. ἔγραψε Βιβλιοθήκην· ἔστι δὲ ἱστορία Ῥωμαϊκή τε καὶ ποικίλη ἐν βιβλίοις μ').[1] *Grammatici certant*.[2] What was it, then: a Greek, Roman or universal history? Assessing the above statements, one may almost believe Diodorus on this point, as putting St. Jerome's definition together with that of the *Suda* would make the *Bibliotheke* a universal history. It goes without saying that this is not enough for confirming the validity of Diodorus' definition, but these different, even contradictory, approaches to a work of one single author certainly raise curiosity. This curiosity increases as one begins examining the *Bibliotheke*, for the answer to the question becomes apparent by reading only the first five books.

Diodorus and the *Bibliotheke*: Preliminary Details

Apart from the two sources mentioned above, our knowledge of the historian is derived from his own writings. He lived in the first century BCE, but neither the year of his birth nor that of his death can be determined with any precision. Born in Agyrium in Sicily (I.4.4), he claims to have travelled throughout Asia and Europe (I.4.1), yet attests only to his visit to Egypt (I.44.1, 46.7, 83.9, III.11.3, 38.1, XVII.52.6),[3] during which he was engaged in doing research for his historical work. He then settled in Rome where, using a variety of sources and records available to him (due to his knowledge of Latin), he probably completed his composition (I.4.2–4). The whole enterprise took him thirty years (I.4.1) but, as for

[1] Diod., I.1.1, 1.3, 4.6, IV.1.3, V.1.4, XI.37.6, XII.2.3; Hieron., *Chron.*, Ol. 182; *Suda*, s.v. Διόδωρος.

[2] To use Horace's famous verse, *Ars P.*, 78.

[3] See also e.g. I.22.4, 45.7–46.6, 84.8 for hints to self eye witnessing.

the dates, the only facts known for certain are that he was in Egypt in 60–55 BCE,[4] and that he arrived at Rome before 45 BCE. The latter is indicated by his remark that he saw the *rostra* before the senate house on which the laws of the Twelve Tables had been engraved (XII.26.1) and which Caesar removed in 45 BCE, setting up a new one in the redesigned *forum*.[5]

His work is known as *Bibliotheke*, Library, and Pliny, elaborating on the ridiculous titles given to treatises, maintains that among the Greeks it was Diodorus who put an end to this nonsense, by naming his history Βιβλιοθήκη.[6] It has been argued that this is an odd title for a history and that it confirms Diodorus' position as a compiler,[7] but it may also be that in calling his work *Bibliotheke*, he borrowed the name of the library of Alexandria, where he did part of his work (III.38.1), wishing to bring to mind the collection and the bibliographic tradition of that great library.[8] His work consists of forty books, of which only I–V and XI–XX are preserved in their entirety.[9] The first six books embrace, to use Diodorus' own phrasing, the events and the mythologies prior to the Trojan War (περιέχουσι τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας); three of them are devoted to the antiquities of the non-Greeks (τὰς βαρβαρικάς ... ἀρχαιολογίας are Diodorus' words), while the other three deal mainly with the antiquities of the Greeks. The remainder of the books, most of them fragmentary, are concerned with universal affairs (κοινὰς πράξεις) starting with the Trojan War to the beginning of Caesar's wars in Gaul, 60/59 BCE (I.4.6–7). Hence we have an almost complete narrative of the mythologies (I–V) and of the history from the Persian Wars to the end of the fourth century, 480–302 BCE (XI–XX).

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4 The evidence is found in I.44.1–4, I.83.8–9, XVII.49.1–2. For calculation and discussion, see below, in the first chapter, pp. 30–37.

5 See Casevitz 1972, p. xi n. 1; Rubincam 1987, pp. 326–327; Sacks 1990, p. 161; Green 2006, p. 5. For Caesar's *rostra*, see Dio, LI.19.2, LIV.35.5, LVI.34.4; Suet., *Aug.*, 100.3; Frontin., *Aq.*, 129; cf. Dio, XLIV.5.1; XLVII.19.1.

6 Plin., *NH*, praef. 25 and see Chamoux, Bertrac, Vernière 1993, p. cxxiv and n. 131 for an explanation of Pliny's use of the genitive Βιβλιοθήκης. Cf. Athen., XII.541e–f whose use of Βιβλιοθήκης may also raise questions. See, in addition, Hornblower 1981, p. 24 n. 24.

7 Farrington 1936, p. 56; Hornblower 1981, pp. 22–24; Casevitz 1991, p. 2. See also Chamoux's introduction in Chamoux, Bertrac, Vernière 1993, pp. xx–xxi.

8 Sacks 1990, p. 77.

9 See Rubincam 1998, suggesting that Diodorus may have originally planned to write forty-two books.

Yet the first five books contain much more than myths. They cover the features of lands such as Egypt, Assyria, India, Scythia, Arabia, Ethiopia, Africa, Greece, Asia Minor, Iberia, Gaul, Liguria and Etruria, as well as islands such as Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Britain in the West, and Samothrace, Lesbos, the Cyclades, Rhodes and Crete in the East. In addition, they include descriptions of the customs of the peoples dwelling in those regions and references to various historical events. Thus the account of the first pentad is, to some extent, a geographical and an ethnographic survey.[10]

Premises and Methods

Concentrating on Diodorus' first five books, this monograph aims to uncover their contribution both to the study of Diodorus and to our knowledge of the Hellenistic era. I argue that the mythological section of the *Bibliotheke* is not only an essential part of Diodorus' universal history, as he himself considered it to be, but also elucidates historical and geographical aspects of the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, one of the conspicuous features of these books is the recurrence of journeys made throughout the inhabited world by gods and culture-heroes. A scrutiny of Diodorus' depictions of these journeys proves that he used them in order to convey some of the geographical, ethnic and historical data introduced into the mythological part of his work and, at the same time, incorporated into his descriptions his own thoughts, concepts and convictions. This study, then, intends to contribute to the recent change of tune in Diodoran scholarship, endeavouring to confirm the significance of the *Bibliotheke* through a meticulous examination of its first five books. As these books were conventionally regarded as dealing solely with myths, only a little research was carried out into them.[11]

Over the years, scholars have focused on Diodorus' use of sources and not on his personal contribution to the study of history. The major work of Diodoran *Quellenforschung* was carried out in the late nineteenth and

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[10] See Green's remark, Green 2006, p. 23.

[11] The exceptions are, e.g., Laqueur 1992 with Brodersen 1992 (examining the manuscripts in which the first five books are delivered); Rubincam 1987 (though not solely, the first books interested her in discussing the organization and composition of the *Bibliotheke*); Sartori 1983 and 1984 (dealing with the problem of dating, and with history, 'utopia' and myth in the first books); Bigwood 1980 (focusing on Diodorus' use of Ctesias in II.1–34).

early twentieth centuries by scholars inspired with the goal of reconstructing as much as possible of the lost ancient historiographic writing, thus minimizing the contribution of the surviving secondary author. Although the advantage of their studies is indisputable—as a result of articles such as Schwartz's for Pauly-Wissowa, for instance, Diodorus' main authority for a particular topic can be identified in most cases—they classified him as a compiler who did nothing but copy his sources. Statements along these lines were made, for example, by Tarn who asserts that "he was not a competent historian" and that "he is personally rather stupid"; Drews, acknowledging that "he was more than an epitomizer", still maintains that he "must have contaminated the material taken from a good source with ideas and interpolations half-remembered from a reading of second-rate sources" and describes him as "unequal for the task" of writing a universal history; Tigerstedt argues that "what such an obscure Greek *litteratus* and compilator as Diodorus Siculus thought and wrote was of no importance to his contemporaries, who simply ignored him"; referring to Diodorus' remark that in explaining the plan of his work at its outset he intended to deter future compilers (I.5.2), Hornblower adds that this comment "perhaps tells us something about his own practice and his guilty conscience"; finally, even recently Stylianou writes that "Diodorus was an epitomator, one of limited abilities too" and crowns the *Bibliotheke* as "a work of compilation" and as "one hastily and incompetently carried out".[12]

As a matter of fact, Stylianou's book was published years after a turn in the treatment of Diodorus had been witnessed. The revisionist scholars of the later twentieth century do not challenge the essential conclusions reached by the traditional *Quellenforscher* regarding the identification of Diodorus' sources; they have, however, focused on Diodorus rather than on the lost authors whom he used, and therefore tend to emphasize the contribution of the secondary, rather than of the primary, author.[13] A series of studies on Diodorus undertaken by Rubincam and

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[12] Schwartz 1903, cols. 663–704; Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 63–91; Drews 1960, pp. 1–3, 147–149; Drews 1962, pp. 383–392; Tigerstedt 1974, vol. 2, p. 136; Hornblower 1981, pp. 18–27; Stylianou 1998, pp. 1–3, 49–84, 132–139. See also the remarks of Nock 1972c, p. 860; Ambaglio, Landucci Gattinoni, Bravi 2008. Further studies are cited at the conclusion of the following chapter.

[13] It should be noted, however, that, since no complete section of text of any length from any of the presumed sources has come down to us, it is impossible to make a comparison between the text of the *Bibliotheke* and that of the source, which may enable us to assess the respective contributions of Diodorus and the source.

Sacks marks the change, although its signs were noticed in earlier works, such as those of Palm and Spoerri.[14] It was already in her dissertation that Rubincam concluded that Diodorus did not "merely translate selected parts of his source's narrative into the style and idiom of his own day". Later she realized, *inter alia*, that certain aspects of the first five books elucidate the process of the composition of the *Bibliotheke* and its organization, and assumed that the stressful events of the triumviral period might have influenced the final form of the work.[15] Sacks, who seeks to "encourage a fresh look at the *Bibliotheke*", as he himself put it, obviously took a step in that direction. He maintained that "Diodorus echoes contemporary ideas and also preserves in his text certain attitudes of his sources" which, however, "are generally compatible with his personal beliefs".[16] Two recent books are also worth mentioning with respect to Diodorus' rehabilitation. The first is Green's translation and commentary on Diodorus XI.1.1-XII.37.1. In his introduction, admitting the advantages of Diodorus' work, he adds that this is "something we would do well to remember when tempted to exercise our dismissive scholarly scepticism on him". According to Green, Diodorus "planned and carried out a vast undertaking with excellent organization and economy".[17] The second book proves that the change of attitude towards Diodorus' work penetrated into studies which do not deal exclusively with this author. In her *Historiography at the End of the Republic*, Yarrow states that "it is only logical to think that Diodorus contributed his personal understanding of Sicily, his home, to the account", referring to his discussion of the First Sicilian Slave Revolt for which he used Posidonius.[18]

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[14] Palm 1955 (realizing Diodorus' unique style and language); Spoerri 1959 (showing that some of the ideas in Book I are not taken from Hecataeus of Abdera, Diodorus' main source for this book) and also Spoerri 1991 (pointing out the importance of certain sections of the *Bibliotheke*). See also Bigwood 1980 (concluding that "there would appear to be much more Diodorus in Diodorus than is often supposed"). For another discussion of Diodorus' language, see Casevitz 1990, pp. 27–33.

[15] Reid [Rubincam] 1969, esp. pp. 98–101; Rubincam 1987, pp. 313–328; Rubincam 1989, pp. 39–61; Rubincam 1998a, pp. 229–233; Rubincam 1998c, pp. 67–87. Also worth mentioning is her article concerning the electronic texts which enable scholars to advance new approaches to the study of Diodorus (Rubincam 1998b).

[16] Sacks 1990, pp. 3–7, 204–206 and passim; Sacks 1994, pp. 213–232; Sacks 1998, pp. 437–442. See also Sacks 1982, pp. 434–443. In effect, Sacks' article for *Mediterraneo Antico* (1998) is part of a section devoted to Diodorus, which includes four other studies (those of Corsaro, Pinzone, Prestianni Giallombardo and Rubincam). This fact in itself indicates an increasing interest in Diodorus.

[17] Green 2006, 1–47, esp. 12, 35.

[18] Yarrow 2006, esp. pp. 116–118, 152–156. For further studies, see the end of the following chapter.

Other studies justify the use of the expression "change of tune" to describe the development of the treatment of Diodorus by modern scholars. In his *Caesar in Gaul and Rome*, Riggsby regards the *Bibliotheke* as one of "three Greek ethnographic accounts of the northern 'barbarians' from around Caesar's time" along with those of Posidonius and Strabo. He then embarks on a discussion and comparison of the three as a preamble to his main topic, which is to deal with Caesar's ethnography in *De Bello Gallico*. This earnest handling of Diodorus, without censuring his abilities as a historian and diminishing his value, is indeed a significant change compared with Schwartz's statement that "*ein Werk kann man das Buch nicht nennen*".[19] Finally, Sacks who had opened his *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* with a citation from the second edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, *s.v.* Diodorus Siculus, according to which the *Bibliotheke* was "a compilation only as valuable as its authorities", himself wrote the entry for the third edition of this dictionary. The latter, needless to say, reveals the new approach to Diodorus' work. It is statements such as "It appears at least that certain themes recur throughout the *Bibliotheke* independently of Diodorus' current source"[20] that the present study endeavours to reinforce. Offering its own innovations, starting with focusing on the first pentad which, as noted, has usually been neglected as a subject of research, it takes a new initiative in attempting some reconciliation of the competing opinions of traditional *Quellenforschung* (which put emphasis on Diodorus' reliance on his sources in composing the *Bibliotheke*) and the revisionism of the past half-century (which has stressed Diodorus' own contribution to his work).

The first five books are explored from two viewpoints. The first part of this study deals with Diodorus' methods in writing history. Commencing with the literary genre, Chapter One shows that although Diodorus did not invent universal history, as he himself admitted, his presentation and definition of universal history in his introduction to the whole work

[19] Riggsby 2006, pp. 47–59; cf. Schwartz 1903, col. 663. See also: Cuniberti 2006, pp. 33–38, using Diodorus (along with the last Athenian orators—Hyperides, Dinarchus and Demades—Plutarch and Pausanias) for his examination of the terms δημοκρατία (democracy), ἐλευθερία (freedom) and αὐτονομία (autonomy) in works on early Hellenistic Athens, as part of his discussion of a larger question, namely, whether Athens was a free and independent *polis* in the Hellenistic period; Momigliano 1984, pp. 83–84, regarding Diodorus' first book as one of "two most important discussions we have of the technical progress of mankind".

[20] Hornblower, Spawforth 1996, s.v. Diodorus Siculus; cf. Hammond, Scullard 1970, s.v. Diodorus (entry written by A.H. McDonald).

reveal his personal view of this genre. Comparing the criteria introduced at the outset of his work with the characteristics of his own version of universal history proves that he acted on his own convictions; while aware of generic antecedents, he made an effort to write his history with due respect to the criteria presented. A comparison of the *Bibliotheke* with other works considered as universal histories confirms his unique contribution to the development of the genre.

Chapter Two offers a new approach to the study of Diodorus' use of sources. Inspecting his accounts of the journeys of six chosen mythical figures—Osiris, Sesostris, Semiramis, Myrina, Dionysus and Heracles—reveals certain motifs which are voiced throughout the first pentad, regardless of the author whose writings he consulted. Tracing the prevalent motifs in the historical part of the *Bibliotheke* and in the writings of other authors, assessing both the contents and the wording, this chapter demonstrates that while it is true that Diodorus drew heavily on his predecessors, he had no intention of merely reproducing his sources. Rather, inserting additional information and expressing his own beliefs, he modified and adapted them to his aims. Moreover, as the motifs discussed characterize the Hellenistic period, it is quite obvious that Diodorus was inspired by the events of his own day. Concomitantly, earlier results of Diodoran *Quellenforschung*, which had emphasized the historian's reliance on previous writers, were not ignored. Consequently, other motifs were searched for, such as those which appear in the legend of one hero but not in any of the others or in any other part of the *Bibliotheke*. These expose another facet of the work, one which reveals the opinions and state of mind of earlier authors, whom Diodorus used. In other words, the study of the chosen mythical figures presents a means of distinguishing between elements likely to have been drawn from a single source and elements transcending a single source, which probably reflect Diodorus' own ideas.

Chapter Three examines Diodorus' working methods. Even though the tales of the wandering gods and heroes and the first books serve as a starting point, the attempt to uncover his methodology goes beyond the first pentad, as in the previous chapters and yet to a greater degree, in order to obtain a clearer picture. His guidelines as a historian are indicated by a series of devices such as his specific statements on the subject-matter; phrases recurring throughout the *Bibliotheke*; comments which mark when a discussion of one topic ends and the other begins, and others which highlight digressions; the framework of the individual books; and the fixed pattern of the accounts of the mythical journeys.

It appears that, conscious of his multifaceted work, the author made an effort to make it as readable as possible.

The accurate geographical details and the valuable historical information, mingled in Diodorus' mythological books, are the subject of analysis in the second part of this monograph. A scrutiny of the narration describing the six heroes mentioned above shows that the author put a special emphasis on the pagan mission. The geographical aspect of this mission is discussed in Chapter Four that examines a selection of sites and roads along which the heroes travelled. Exploring the location and the topographical features of each place and route, their history, assets and status in various periods of time shows that these were not only real, but that each site or road has its own significance, often imbued with a special relevance to the first century BCE. The fact that Diodorus gathered all this geographical information in his first books suggests that he might have assigned another role to these books, that of a geographical introduction to his work.

Chapter Five is concerned with the undertakings which the gods and heroes took upon themselves in order to benefit mankind. Tracing the deeds of each of the six figures discussed indicates that, while travelling in the inhabited world, they delivered some kind of message—cultural, religious or political—to the population in the countries which they either visited or invaded. Though I am aware of the fact that treating the actions of the heroes in each of these categories separately is somewhat problematic, since an act such as the establishment of their own cult attempting to secure their rule is both religious and political, I nevertheless decided to adopt this "categorization" for the sake of a lucid presentation of their accomplishments.[21] Having first pinpointed the mythological tasks—these being, *inter alia*, various agricultural enterprises, foundation of cities, setting up new cults and establishing political regimes—and comparing them with those carried out by historical individuals, this chapter confirms once again that Diodorus was affected by actual affairs, particularly Hellenistic, as he modelled the feats of his heroes on those of historical figures. Certain concepts which echo in his tales (such as the promotion of progress) reinforce this conjecture.

Chapter Six considers the heroes' dealings with the recipients of their mission. Diodorus touches upon this topic infrequently and yet, collecting his references to the relations between the protagonists and the ben-

[21] See Mendels 1996, pp. 442–448.

eficiaries, found throughout the accounts of six heroes, illustrates the nature of these relations. It appears that the missionaries, which in a number of cases acted peacefully, had to use force in others; for although conferring benefits upon the peoples they visited, they faced opposition to their actions. An examination both of the contents and the phraseology of Diodorus' accounts bears out that an historical equivalent lies behind most of his descriptions. An example will clarify this point. Diodorus maintains that, confronting resistance to their deeds, the heroes acted violently but, facing the surrender of their adversaries, they behaved moderately. The impact of his own days is quite obvious: like his contemporary authors, Diodorus echoes the idea and the politics of clemency inspired by *clementia Caesaris*. His use of terms such as βάρβαρος (barbarian) and ὁμόνοια (unity) also reflects the Hellenistic era. The allusion to the lenient behaviour of a ruler and to the idea of the unity of mankind joins a series of indirect allusions to Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. In fact, the long list proves that, although he had other role models as well (such as Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse),[22] these two prominent leaders were the main characters on which he modelled the itineraries, the actions and the conduct of his mythical figures.

In analyzing Diodorus' historiographical methods and his representation of gods and culture-heroes in the first five books, attention was often called to his wording. The philological examination strengthened, for instance, the conjecture that the author did not simply reproduce his sources. The impression arising from looking into his words and syntax in order to convey the prevalent motifs of his work (Part I Chapter 2) is that he coined certain formulae and introduced them into the entire work. In addition, the inspection of Diodorus' phrases highlights the impact of the affairs of his days on his narrative, for the use of terms such as ἐπιείκεια or ὁμόνοια in the context in which they appear points to ideas which prevailed in his time. And since words are important, I have tried to translate the Greek (and occasionally the Latin) as closely in meaning to the original as possible, occasionally to the detriment of a more elegant English.

A comparison of Diodorus' accounts with the writings of various other authors (poets, philosophers, orators, geographers, biographers and historians), earlier and later than this author as well as his contemporaries, is also an important device employed in this study. To take the enquiry of

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[22] See e.g. XI.23.3, 67.2–4, XIII.22.4, XIV.66.2–3; Devillers 1998, pp. 149–167; Bissa 2010, pp. 58–59.

Diodorus' use of sources again, my research into the motifs was carried out in three stages. First, they were traced in the first five books, then they were searched for in the historical section of the *Bibliotheke* and finally an effort was made to detect them in the works of various authors. Applying both "internal" and "external" scrutiny is essential for any attempt to prove Diodorus' originality and to determine whether his mythical stories may shed light on historical events.

Terminology and Definitions

Terms such as "myth", "culture-hero" and "mission", which recur throughout this monograph, are not only difficult to define, but also have a variety of meanings both among ancient and modern societies. It is, therefore, vital to clarify them at the outset of this study.

Myth and Mythology

The Greek word μῦθος initially meant "word" or "speech", but it was already Homer who used it to denote a report or a story, though without specifying whether it was a true story or a false one.[23] Pindar makes it clear that μῦθος was the opposite of λόγος (true story), a distinction also highlighted by Plato.[24] When Herodotus states that the Greeks carelessly tell many stories, one of which is the silly story (εὐήθης … ὁ μῦθος) about Heracles, he obviously implies that μῦθος is nothing but a legend.[25] Thucydides further emphasizes the difference between the domain of fable (τὸ μυθῶδες) and the actual actions of individuals (τὰ ἔργα), revealing his intention to refrain from introducing fabulous stories into his narrative (even though it may seem less pleasing to the ear).[26]

A similar use of the word μῦθος is made by Plato, when he recounts, for instance, that the Cretans invented the tale of Ganymede (τὸν περὶ Γανυμήδη μῦθον) which, in his opinion, may be dismissed.[27] Plato also employs the word μυθολογία which, again, appears to be the oppo-

[23] Hom., *Od.*, III.94, IV.324, XI.492.

[24] Pind., *Ol.*, I.28–29; *Nem.*, 23; Pl., *Phd.*, 61b, *Prt.*, 320c, 324d, 328c, *Gorg.*, 523a, 527a–b and elsewhere.

[25] Hdt., II.45.

[26] Thuc., I.21.1–22.4. For Thucydides' use of the term ἔργον as opposed to λόγος, see e.g. Thuc., II.41.2 and Hornblower 1987, esp. pp. 30–32: "The actions of individuals amount to a kind of reality or truth which is put in opposition to *logos*."

[27] Pl., *Leg.*, 636c–d, cf. e.g. *Resp.*, 330d.

site of λόγοι, thus meaning fiction. Elsewhere he asserts that falsehood (ψεῦδος) can be used in the myths (μυθολογίαι). As the truth (τἀληθής) about the past is unknown, a falsehood (ψεῦδος) can be created as close to it as possible.[28] Diodorus followed in his footsteps, using both μῦθος and μυθολογία in the same sense. He contrasts μυθολογία with πράξεις, as the latter indicates real events (I.25.4, 98.10), but concomitantly regards the legends as an important element of the antiquities of peoples (I.3.2, 4.6, IV.4.1–4), even though he misses no opportunity to emphasize the difficulties involved in recounting them (also in IV.8.1). Moreover, in the general introduction to his work, he leaves no room for speculation regarding his perception of μυθολογία. Discussing the role of history, he argues that it preserves the accomplishments of pre-eminent men, bears witness to the evils of wicked men, and benefits all of humankind. The example given to prove his point is the legend (μυθολογία) of Hades; for despite the fact that its substance is fictitious (τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πεπλασμένην ἔχουσα), it contributes to piety and justice among men (I.2.2). This is rather confusing since Diodorus was aware that he was narrating fictitious tales, and yet deemed them as part of history and recognized their importance.

Diodorus sets an example of the ancient authors' perplexing view of the myths. Plato, as mentioned, regarded myths as false stories, but also considered them as a necessary part of the young Greeks' literary education.[29] Strabo, in contrast to Diodorus (I.69.7, X.24.1), believed that the aim of the myths was to entertain and to amuse their readers, but also claimed that Homer had mingled historical occurrences with legendary elements. Moreover, he hinted that an author who tells the story of the wanderings and the hardships of heroes such as Odysseus may contribute to the practice of his hearers by inserting a useful moral.[30]

When dealing with the concept of myths in ancient times, one has to put aside modern connotations of the term. For although the word itself had been adopted by modern societies, various meanings and new substance were attached to it. As pointed out by Burkert, to the modern man the word "myth" means something "irrational, false and potentially harmful" but it has also "a nostalgic ring, indicative of some

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[28] Pl., *Hip. Ma.*, 298a: οἱ λόγοι καὶ αἱ μυθολογίαι; *Resp.*, 382c–d. See also *Resp.*, 394b and the discussion of Cassirer 1946, pp. 61–93.

[29] Pl., *Resp.*, 376c–412a.

[30] Strabo, I.1.19 C 11, 2.9 C 20, 2.35 C 43. See Mendels 2008, pp. 132–133 and passim for the use of antiquity, including myths, in antiquity. See also Veyne 1988, dealing with the question "Did the Greeks believe in their myths?".

meaningful reality hidden or lost in the depths of the past or of the psyche, which might be resuscitated as an antidote to a present that seems both rational and absurd".[31] Despite the complexity of the task, attempts to define "myth" have been made by modern scholars, be they historians, anthropologists, sociologists and others. To take a few illustrious suggestions, according to Burkert, "myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance". Eliade argues that "myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial Time, the fabled time of the 'beginnings' … myth tells how, through the deeds of Supernatural Beings, a reality came into existence …". Eliade further maintains that the Supernatural Beings, the actors in myths, made man a mortal, sexed and cultural being.[32] Lévi-Strauss' structural approach to myth affected scholarship, but raised not a few objections. In his opinion, society is a machine, consisting of parts which contribute to the function of the whole. Myths are part of this machine. Their role is mainly cognitive; they resolve or mediate essential binary oppositions, such as man and woman, life and death, nature and culture, raw and cooked, fresh and rotten. Like Lévi-Strauss, who considers myth as a method of communication, similar to language, Barthes regards myth as a system of signs. However, Barthes' approach is semiotic. He calls myth "metalanguage", since it is a secondary sign system which uses language, the primary sign system, in order to build itself.[33]

It is against this background that Diodorus' treatment of the myths should be examined. Though myths are complex and consisted of fictional elements, ancient and modern scholars both consider them significant. Furthermore, dealing with Diodorus' versions of myth provides proof of its changing nature[34] for his tales of figures such as Dionysus and

[31] Burkert 1979, p. 1. For myth today, see also Barthes 1957, pp. 109–159; Eliade 1963, pp. 181–193; Vernant 1980, pp. 204–207; Dowden 1992, pp. 3–4.

[32] Burkert 1979a, p. 23 (also Burkert 1979b, pp. 16–39; Burkert 1983, pp. 29–34; Burkert 1984, pp. 282–283); Eliade 1963, pp. 5–6. See also the definition of Frazer 1921, p. xxvii: "By myths I understand mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature" (note his emphasis on the difficulties in treating myths, Frazer 1968, pp. 271–281), and the discussions of Cassirer 1946, pp. 1–60; Kirk 1970, passim; Kirk 1972, pp. 74–85; Kirk 1975, pp. 13–91; Vernant 1980, pp. 186–207; Segal 1980, pp. 3–49; Bremmer 1987, pp. 1–9; Dowden 1992, pp. 4–17; Graf 1993, pp. 1–56; Cartledge 1993, pp. 18–35.

[33] E.g. Lévi-Strauss 1963, esp. pp. 206–231; Lévi-Strauss 1969, passim; see also Lévi-Strauss 1967, pp. 1–47 for a case-study (for criticism, see e.g. Burkert 1979, pp. 10–14; Graf 1993, pp. 44–49); Barthes 1957, pp. 111–117.

[34] See Mendels 2008, esp. pp. 136–138, 149.

Heracles differ from those of his predecessors. Retaining the backbone of the stories, he altered them by introducing new material, inspired by the events of the Hellenistic era. Thus his myth is a "traditional tale" in which the actors are "supernatural beings" who set out on a mission to turn men into "cultural beings"; but it is also a mixture of facts and fiction, since he ascribed to these actors the traits and the deeds of historical figures and based his descriptions of the scenes in which they operated on real data. By this method he may have tried to reach a goal which history and myth have in common—helping to "make sense of the world".[35]

Culture-heroes and Culture-bringers

A depiction of Prometheus' character and his deeds may illustrate what a culture-hero is: he taught men to make drugs out of herbs which protected them against diseases, invented the art of interpreting the implication of divine omens, gave them the fire and instructed them how to use it, discovered metals such as brass, iron, silver and gold, and benefited mankind in other ways which Aeschylus sums up in a single sentence: mortals learned all arts (πᾶσαι τέχναι) from Prometheus.[36] Prometheus' accomplishments are attested to in Plato's *Protagoras*, where he is also credited (together with Epimetheus) with the creation of mankind out of clay, and it is emphasized that he helped men to survive through the various arts introduced to them. Yet Prometheus equipped men with practical skills only; it was Zeus who sent Hermes to bring them social virtues, such as decency (αἰδώς) and justice (δίκη), which would enable them to found city-states and to establish friendship among them.[37]

Prometheus, then, is a mythical figure who "is responsible for establishing certain characteristics of the group and its way of life", to use the definition of a culture-hero found, for instance, in a dictionary of anthropology. It continues as follows: "he (i.e. the culture-hero) may pass through ordeals, undergo competitions or battles with gods and spirits,

[35] Morley 1999, pp. 33–38, 52.

[36] Aesch., *PV*, 476–506. See also Hes., *Op.*, 47–48, *Theog.*, 521–616.

[37] Pl., *Prt.*, 320c–323a; for the meaning of αἰδώς (far more than 'decency') and δίκη (more concrete than the English 'justice' or 'right'), see Sinclair 1967, pp. 16–17, 58 and n. 2. Cf. Hor., *Carm.*, I.16.13–16; Paus., X.4.4 and also Ar., *Av.*, 686 (who refers to the clay but does not mention Prometheus). Diodorus, relating to the gift of fire, remarks that though some writers of myths argue that he stole the fire from the gods, the truth is that he discovered the things from which fire may be kindled (V.67.2, cf. I.19.1–3, IV.15.2).

or he may win or achieve certain objects or privileges for the group".[38] All of this is true with regard to Prometheus—who, punished by Zeus for stealing fire from the gods and giving it to mankind, had his liver eaten by an eagle—but also with regards to Diodorus' gods and heroes. The latter, in fact, were responsible for civilizing mankind in all aspects: like Prometheus, they taught men practical arts and presented them with religious practices, but they also encouraged justice among them, introduced laws and courts, set in order the political affairs of various peoples, and founded cities. Moreover, Diodorus' versions of the tales of the wandering gods and heroes accords with the final part of the above definition to the effect that "the culture hero functions as a sort of intermediary between the supernatural and mythic past and the everyday world of human society".

Although the term "culture-heroes" is used throughout this study, a related phrase, i.e. "culture-bringers", should be also mentioned. In the second edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, for instance, this term is defined as "persons, divine or human, who introduced mankind in primitive days to the arts, religious observances, etc." while in the third edition one reads: "mythical figures who are credited with the inventions of important cultural achievements".[39] Apparently, the two terms are quite compatible. Momigliano, for example, refers to culture-heroes as figures "who reveal technological secrets to helpless mankind".[40] I prefer "culture-heroes" not only because it is a more common phrase, but also because it covers a wider range of meanings which agrees with both the character and the activities of Diodorus' heroes. As stated by Vansina, "culture-heroes are credited with the creation of whole social systems or cultures".[41] Yet as the emphasis on inventions and the presentation of arts and other innovations into men's lives is an essential feature of Diodorus' descriptions, I allow myself to add them to the above anthropological definition of culture-heroes. It should also be added

[38] Seymour-Smith 1986, s.v. culture hero.

[39] Hammond, Scullard 1970, s.v. culture-bringers; Hornblower, Spawforth 1996, s.v. culture-bringers. See also Thraede 1962, cols. 1198–1199; Henrichs 1984, pp. 139–158, discussing Prodicus on culture-heroes and his idea that Demeter and Dionysus were deified because of their inventions.

[40] Momigliano 1984, pp. 83–85. He adds that the "civilizing figures" may be individual gods, men, or cities (such as Athens, described in Lucretius' sixth book).

[41] Vansina 1985, p. 106. He argues that culture-heroes are an extreme example of characters which became the prototypes for magicians, warriors, wise men and lawyers. They were idealized, and thus credited with anecdotes which originally belonged to other individuals.

that a culture-hero may be divine (gods and demigods) or human but, according to Diodorus, the "person" who has conferred benefits upon mankind becomes immortal or received godly honours. Thus a culture-hero had divine traits attached.

There is no doubt that culture-heroes of this type are not exclusive to Greek mythology.[42] Diodorus reflects on this as well, as he treats the mythologies of various peoples, all of which have heroes who contributed to the welfare of mankind (Osiris and Sesostris are Egyptians, Semiramis is Assyrian and Myrina is Libyan). Cultural developments cannot be considered as a central theme of Greek historical research, as Momigliano rightly points out.[43] Ancient historical research in general, and universal history in particular, have focused on political issues. However, Diodorus' emphasis on the acts of culture-heroes in his first books shows that he was concerned with cultural history and this proves his efforts to create a new type of universal history; this will be discussed in the first chapter of this study.

Mission and Missionaries

The use of the term "missionaries" in a study dealing with paganism is somewhat problematic on account of its dominant ecclesiastical sense and related associations. I could have employed the word "emissaries" instead, but it does not seem to cover the entire aspects of the character and the tasks of Diodorus' heroes. In effect, I find the definition of Christian missionaries quite revealing, i.e. "those who attempt to promulgate religious beliefs and adherence to specific churches or sects among the unconverted. Missionaries work both in their own countries and abroad ...". Despite an emphasis on the religious act of the missionaries, it is acknowledged that they were also political, economic and cultural agents. They served, for instance, "as the bridge which has effected the eventual subordination of indigenous peoples, making them receptive to the new culture in general and eroding their own cultural values".[44]

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[42] See Thompson 1955, A500–A592 for numerous examples of culture-heroes as a mythological motif in various societies, and also Momigliano 1984, pp. 83–85, who refers to instances of Oriental writers (e.g. Moses in Jewish works such as that of Artapanus). Momigliano's comment regarding cities such as Athens, which turn into a civilizing force, is also worth mentioning.

[43] Momigliano 1984, p. 85.

[44] Seymour-Smith 1986, s.v. missionaries.

What can be drawn from this definition to describe Diodorus' heroes? Even though this was not their main field of action, they "promulgated religious beliefs", for they established new cults and erected temples to new gods both in their homeland and in the lands which they visited and, as will be demonstrated, Diodorus' depiction of their operation and its result indicates that the process of conversion existed within paganism. In addition, they enacted laws and set up governments in some countries and, for the most part, advanced a cultural change among the peoples in whose lands they had arrived. Osiris, for instance, taught people the cultivation of wheat and barley, thus causing them not only to change their food, but also to give up cannibalism and to refrain from eating one another (I.14.1). This means that he was "making them receptive to the new culture in general and eroding their own cultural values".

The ambiguity of the term "mission" is also underlined by those who tackle the Christian mission. According to Goodman, "anyone sent to do anything may be said to have a mission of some sort". He mentions four types of mission: a) an informative mission, aimed at imparting to peoples a general message without intending to change their behaviour; b) an educational mission, designed to make the recipients more moral or contented; c) an apologetic mission, intended to protect the cult and beliefs of the missionary without expecting the addressees to devote themselves to these; d) a proselytizing mission, planned to persuade people to change their lifestyle and to be recruited into the missionary's group. I do not argue that each of these missions may be recognized as such in the acts of Diodorus' heroes, but some of their elements may be detected in his descriptions. Goodman himself maintains that these are ideal types and, since the missionaries themselves may not be entirely aware of their motivation, it may be difficult to distinguish one type of mission from another.[45]

Dealing with the impact of the pagan mission on the presentation of Paul's mission in the Book of Acts, Mendels defines the pagan mission as follows: "any action taken by individuals to convey a message, or to bring some sort of progress, to a population in and/or outside the political/religious and/or geographical sphere from which the mission/ary originates". His remark that these primitive missionaries "become holy people as a result of their mission"[46] accords with the nature of Diodoran

[45] Goodman 1994, pp. 3–6. For the Christian mission in antiquity, see also Harnack 1904, vol. 1, passim; Anderson 1994, pp. 167–187; Mendels 1999, pp. 179–233.
[46] Mendels 1996, pp. 433–436.

culture-heroes, previously discussed. In line with Mendels' definition, and keeping in mind the characteristics pointed out in the above explanations, Diodorus' versions of the myths of the wanderings gods and heroes are examined in the subsequent chapters. It will become apparent that missionary activity, a central theme in these tales, interested Diodorus to such a degree that he even portrayed himself as a missionary whose task was to write a history according to a plan which would benefit the readers in the best possible way (I.3.5).

PART I

ORIGINALITY IN DIODORUS' HISTORIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER ONE

THE GENRE: UNIVERSAL HISTORY

At first glance, Diodorus' remarks at the beginning of his *Bibliotheke*, eulogizing the historians and their craft, seem no different from those of Sallust, his contemporary. Stressing the necessity to make the memory of human life as long as possible, since life itself is short (*Cat.*, I.3), Sallust counts *memoria rerum gestarum* as one of the most useful intellectual occupations, an occupation which he highlights as so great (*tantus*) and very useful (*tamque utilis*) (*Iug.*, IV.1, 3); Diodorus, on the other hand, attaching the superlative of χρήσιμος (useful) to his enterprise, emphasizes the utility of history throughout the introduction to the whole work (e.g. I.1.1, 1.4–5, 2.7–8).[1] Sallust says that the memory of deeds awakens a flame in the heart of outstanding men, a flame which cannot be extinguished until they have equalled the fame of their ancestors (*Iug.*, IV.5–6), while Diodorus claims that, by recording good actions, it is history which has inspired men to found cities, to introduce laws and to discover new sciences and arts in order to benefit mankind (I.2.1). According to Sallust, both those who have acted for their country and those who have recorded the deeds of others have been praised (*Cat.*, III.1–2); Diodorus also refers to the approbation earned by writers of history, in his explanation for what made him enthusiastic for the task (I.3.1). Although he is well aware that the glory of men of action is undoubtedly greater, the writing of history is considered by Sallust as one of the most difficult of undertakings (*Cat.*, III.2); Diodorus, for his part, also points out that it requires much labour and time and entails hardship and dangers (I.4.1). Despite this obvious resemblance, taking into consideration other statements of Diodorus and examining his wording reveals that he assigns to the historian a greater importance, portraying him as a benefactor of mankind, like the gods and culture-heroes, whose journeys he describes at length in his first five books.

In the first sentence of his work Diodorus states that it is appropriate that all men should accord great gratitude to those who have written

[1] This introduction, which reveals some of Diodorus' convictions concerning the writing of history, will be discussed below. See Part I Chapter 3, pp. 127–134.

universal histories, since they have aspired to be of service by their individual labours to the common life, namely to the life of the human race as a whole (I.1.1). Diodorus' phrasing—ὠφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον—reappears in I.15.9, an occasion in which the author explains that Hermes was esteemed by Osiris because he was endowed with a natural ingenuity for inventing things capable of "being of service to the life of the human race as a whole". Furthermore, Diodorus says that history is the guardian of the virtue of illustrious men, the witness of the evil deeds of the wicked and the benefactor to the entire race of men, εὐεργέτιν δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων (I.2.2). The wording, cited also in Greek, appears frequently in Diodorus' descriptions of gods and culture-heroes throughout his first five books as will be seen in the following chapter.[2] Heracles, for instance, conferring benefactions upon the race of men, εὐεργετοῦντα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, gained immortality (IV.53.7), while Dionysus, who also conferred very great benefactions upon the race of men, μεγίστας εὐεργεσίας κατατεθεῖσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων (IV.1.6), was considered together with Heracles worthy of the name "Olympian" because they had both done great services for the life of men, εὐεργετήσαντες μεγάλα τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων (IV.15.1).

History, according to Diodorus, encourages men to act justly and denounces the wicked (I.2.8). The author attributes a similar task to Heracles and Dionysus. Traversing Iberia, Heracles granted a portion of his cattle to a certain native king, who excelled in piety and justice (IV.18.3), whereas Dionysus is said to have punished unjust and impious men (IV.2.6). Diodorus' remark, according to which he decided to compose his history after a plan which might benefit (ὠφελῆσαι) the readers in the best possible way (I.3.5),[3] further strengthens the impression that he believed that in writing history he was performing a mission similar to that of the wandering gods and heroes.

The mention of Heracles in the general introduction to the work and Diodorus' allusions to a similarity between the hero's accomplishments and his own deeds as a historian also support this notion. Heracles is said to have spent his time among men in great and continuous labours

[2] See below, pp. 65–67.

[3] Diodorus points out the advantages of history and its utility (e.g. history provides its readers with an experience which entails no danger, teaches them how to correct their errors and to imitate past successes, trains leaders, praises good men and turns the wicked from their bad ways) elsewhere in the introduction (I.1.2, 1.4–5) and in other sections of his work (IX.33.1, X.12.1–3, XI.3.1, 38.6, XXX.15.1, XXXII.26.1, XXXVII.4.1, XXXVIII/XXXIX.18.1).

and perils, in order that, conferring benefits upon mankind, he would win immortality (I.2.4), while Diodorus' own work is described as most useful, which required much labour and time. The author states that it took him thirty years to complete his work, during which he went through many hardships and perils as he travelled through a large part of Asia and of Europe, aiming to see with his own eyes the most important regions and as many others as possible (I.4.1). That Diodorus saw some kind of resemblance between himself and Heracles is confirmed by his confession that he was stimulated to write history since historians are accorded righteous approbation (I.3.1). Both Heracles and Diodorus worked hard for a long time, exposing themselves to dangers with the intention of helping the human race; both were rewarded: the hero gained immortality, the historian received approbation.[4]

Yet the finest mission is that of the author of ἡ κοινὴ ἱστορία, general or universal history (I.1.1). Claiming to have written a history of this type, Diodorus frequently preferred to use the phrase αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις, which literally means the general (or universal) actions (I.1.3, 4.6, IV.1.3, V.1.4, XI.37.6, XII.2.3). Did Diodorus refer to an existing literary genre, lest he created a whole new genre? One may find in the introductory chapters of his work several criteria which reveal his definition of universal history. First, an author who wishes to compose a universal history must begin with the events of the earliest times, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρώνων (I.3.6, cf. 3.2), incorporate the ancient mythologies, τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας (I.3.2) and make an attempt to recount the events until

[4] Marincola (1997, pp. 46, 149–150) already noticed Diodorus' aspiration to portray himself as a benefactor such as Heracles, but he went too far in arguing that "Diodorus sees himself primarily as a benefactor of mankind who will thereby win for himself immortality". The notion of performing benefactions for the common good and the consequent reward reappear in Diodorus' work, as will be seen in the next chapter. Yet it is clear that Diodorus made a distinction between mythical heroes, who gain immortality, historical figures, who receive everlasting honour or honours equal to those of gods, and historians, who are accorded great gratitude (I.1.1) and a fitting approbation (I.3.1). Diodorus does not attribute to himself divine features. It is interesting to compare this to Justin (*Praef.*, 2), who recognizes a similarity between Pompeius Trogus' embarking upon writing a universal history and Heracles' audacity (*Herculea audacia*), and to Nicolaus of Damascus, who went further by saying that if Eurystheus had challenged Heracles with writing a history like his, it would have worn him out (*FGrH*, IIA, 90 F 135). See Yarrow 2006, pp. 124–125, who also notes a possible Stoic influence for Heracles was an example of courage in the Stoic thought (e.g. Cic., *Off.*, III.25; *Fin.*, III.66). See also below. Diodorus' depiction of historians as benefactors (such as Heracles and other heroes who were political figures, as will be seen in the second part of this book) agrees with Ando's claim, according to which Diodorus "opened his work with a review of the political power wielded by authors of universal histories" (Ando 1999, pp. 24–25).

his own times, μέχρι τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν καιρῶν (I.3.6, cf. 3.2).[5] Second, the historian must record the affairs of the universe all together, τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου πράξεις, as though they were (those) of a certain single city, ὥσπερ τινὸς μιᾶς πόλεως (I.3.6).[6] Diodorus emphasizes that a universal history should embrace the common deeds, τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, including the actions of the barbarians, τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων πράξεις (I.3.2). Third, the author should refer to very many and most varied circumstances, πλείστας καὶ ποικιλωτάτας περιστάσεις. Diodorus' view, according to which previous historians made fewer contributions to human welfare, since many (of them) have recorded complete wars of one single people or one single city-state, οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν ἑνὸς ἔθνους ἢ μιᾶς πόλεως αὐτοτελεῖς πολέμους ἀνέγραψαν (I.3.1–2), elucidates his meaning.[7] Fourth, the historian should attach to each (of the events) its proper time, τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἑκάστοις (I.3.2), as an event whose date has been minutely examined is preferable to one for which the date is unknown (I.3.8). Finally, Diodorus defines the best historical work as "the systematic treatise which contains a connected account of affairs in a single line of narrative", ἡ δ' ἐν μιᾶς συντάξεως περιγραφῇ πραγματεία τὸ τῶν πράξεων εἰρόμενον ἔχουσα. Diodorus' phrasing is somewhat complicated,[8] but the next sentence sheds light on its meaning, as the author adds that "the whole is more useful than the parts and the continuity than the discontinuity", χρησιμώτερόν ἐστι τὸ πᾶν τοῦ μέρους καὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τοῦ διερρηγμένου (I.3.8). Hence the best historical work is that in which the author creates a sequence by connecting the events to one another.

The same criteria may be traced in another passage of the introduction, which exemplifies Diodorus' Stoic inspiration. Those who wrote universal histories, he argues, aspired to encompass all men in one systematic treatise, *just as* they were the servants of divine providence, *ὥσπερ* τινὲς ὑπουργοὶ τῆς θείας προνοίας γενηθέντες. For divine prov-

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[5] Diodorus assigns to the mythical legends an important role in the general purpose of history: to encourage men to act justly, to praise the good, to denounce the evil and to present the readers with an enormous store of experience (I.2.2–8); see the references to this issue above, in the introduction, pp. 10–13, and below, Part I Chapter 3, pp. 113–114, 128. See also Mortley 1996, pp. 85–99; Saïd 2007, passim.

[6] Cf. I.1.3: τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις καθάπερ μιᾶς πόλεως, recording the universal affairs of the inhabited world as though they were (those) of a single city.

[7] Perhaps Diodorus had Thucydides, Xenophon and Anaximenes of Lampsacus in mind, for they devoted their works to the affairs of Greece (I.37.4, XIII.42.5, XV.89.3).

[8] For further discussion of this sentence and for alternative translations, see below, Part I Chapter 3, p. 117.

idence encircles (κυκλεῖ) the arrangement of the visible stars and the natures of men into one common relationship; the historians, likewise, in recording the affairs of the entire inhabited world just as those of a single city-state, create one narrative, a common counting-house of past occurrences (I.1.3). The idea that divine providence determines the world's order and its future is typical of the Stoic doctrine and the same can be said of the notion of human unity.[9] The reference to astrology in this passage is another feature of the Stoics, since astrology is a discipline of special interest for them, while the cyclic perception, though not exclusive to the Stoics, does exist in their doctrine.[10] According to some scholars, Diodorus merely copied this paragraph of his introduction from Posidonius and, in order to strengthen their view, they claim that it has no special relevance to the topic under discussion.[11] By contrast, tracing the above ideas in the *Bibliotheke* shows that each of them reappears in other sections of the work. Diodorus was familiar with the theory according to which divine supervision (θεία/δαιμόνια πρόνοια) determines both the orderly arrangement of the universe and its later developments (II.30.1). He refers to it as the guidance of human behaviour (VIII.32.2), as a saviour from calamity (XI.14.4), as a retaliator (XVI.58.5, XX.70.1) and, in general, πρόνοια is presented as intervening in the occurrences and altering their courses (XVI.92.2).[12] The unity (ὁμόνοια) of mankind, which became a well-known notion in the period following Alexander the Great, is to be found both in the mythological and the historical portions of Diodorus' work (e.g. III.64.7, V.85.3, XVIII.4.4).[13] Diodorus was interested in astrology (I.81.3–6, II.29.1–31.9), and the cyclic perception is reflected in his precise references to the cyclic nature of life (II.50.7, III.19.6) and, as will be seen below, in the journeys of his mythical heroes, who generally finished their campaigns in the same site from which they had set out.

The ideas which, as shown, pervade Diodorus' work, are used in I.1.3 metaphorically in order to explain the role of the author of a universal history in linking the events and uniting them into one body.

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[9] E.g. Cic., *Nat. D.*, I.18–23; Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, 6, 8 (*Mor.*, 329a–d, 330d–e).

[10] See e.g. Cic., *Nat. D.*, I.18, 36, 52 and consult Farrington 1947, pp. 60–68, 82.

[11] Drews 1960, pp. 12–13 and n. 1 p. 150; Burton 1972, pp. 36–38. For Posidonius, universal history and the influence of Stoicism, see Alonso-Núñez 1994, pp. 87–108; Yarrow 2006, pp. 161–166.

[12] Indications of this idea are found elsewhere, though Diodorus does not employ the expression "divine providence" (XII.20.2, XX.101.1–4).

[13] For a discussion of this notion, see below, Part II Chapter 6, pp. 319–330.

Here Diodorus makes a comparison between such a historical treatise and a counting-house; elsewhere he remarks that every reader may get from a universal history whatever information that he needs, *just as* drawing from a great fountain, *ὥσπερ ἐκ* μεγάλης ἀρυόμενον πηγῆς (I.3.7). Diodorus' repeated use of allegories and the presence of the adverb ὥσπερ both in the case of divine providence and that of the fountain proves that the author mentions divine providence only as an allegory and that he has no intention of saying that the historians are the representatives of such providence.[14] Another metaphor appears in the introduction to his twentieth book, which I will discuss below.[15] Attempting to highlight once again the unity of the historical treatise, Diodorus states that the genre of history-writing is simple and self-consistent and, on the whole, resembles a living organism (XX.1.5).

Diodorus, therefore, considers a work which is comprehensive with regard to time, place and range of subjects as a universal history. It should begin with the earliest times and end in the author's own days, to cover the entire inhabited world geographically and ethnographically and to deal with various issues, not solely with wars. Nevertheless, such a work should be as accurate as possible concerning dates and must demonstrate a link between the events. A treatise of this type will benefit the reader more than any other historical work. Writing a universal history, according to Diodorus, is undeniably the most helpful, yet it requires hard work and much time. He himself stresses, as previously mentioned, that he spent thirty years working on his composition, during which he went through much hardship and many perils (I.4.1).

One needs to ask now whether, in writing his *Bibliotheke*, Diodorus pursued the criteria that he so clearly articulated. In the *prooemium* he explains the structure of his work: the first six books deal with the deeds and myths prior to the Trojan War. Three of them are devoted to the

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[14] For this opinion see, for example, Sacks 1990, pp. 10, 36 and Oldfather, in his translation of Diodorus in the Loeb Classical Library (1933, vol. 1, p. 7). Separating the clause ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπουργοὶ τῆς θείας προνοίας γενηθέντες from the main sentence, Oldfather translates it as "And such historians have therein shown themselves to be, as it were, ministers of Divine Providence". But see the translation of Murphy 1990, p. 3: "… as if they were agents of Divine Providence …". It is also worth noting that both translators ignore the cyclic meaning of the verb κυκλεῖν which Diodorus attaches to divine supervision. In my opinion, this is significant, since the cyclic perception is prominent in Diodorus' descriptions of the journeys of gods and heroes. Cf. Farrington 1947, p. 61: "Providence wheels …".

[15] See Part I Chapter 3, p. 122.

barbarians, the other three mainly to the Greeks; the following eleven books record the common affairs (τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις) from the Trojan War to the death of Alexander; the remaining twenty-three books are concerned with all the subsequent events down to the outbreak of the war between the Romans and the Celts, in which Julius Caesar overcame many tribes and extended the Roman rule as far as the British Isles. This war, Diodorus adds, began in the first year of the One Hundred and Eightieth Olympiad, when Herodes was archon in Athens, i.e. 60/59 BCE (I.4.6–7). This date, to which I will refer below, is accurate; thus, for the time being, it is safe to say that, according to Diodorus' plan, the scope of the *Bibliotheke*, both temporally and spatially, appears to be comprehensive as required. Yet a second question arises: does this plan correspond with the actual structure of the work?

In his first six books Diodorus recounts the mythology, the earliest history and the customs of Egypt, Assyria, India, Scythia, Arabia, Ethiopia, Africa, Greece, the islands of the west (such as Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Britain), Iberia, Gaul, Liguria, Etruria, the islands of the Aegean Sea (such as Samothrace, Lesbos and the Cyclades), Rhodes, western Asia (Asia Minor), Crete and others. A description of central and southern Italy is missing, but Diodorus refers to these regions both in Heracles' voyage in the fourth book[16] and in Aeneas' journey in the seventh. Hence from a geographical and ethnographical point of view, he covers the entire inhabited world. As for the chronological scope, Diodorus begins, as promised, with the earliest times. The first discourse following the introduction, which concerns the various views "regarding the first origin of mankind" (I.6.3), attests to that. Book XL, though fragmentary, indicates that Diodorus ended his work with the affairs of his own day. The last event that the final book treats is the conspiracy of Catilina, which occurred in 63 BCE (XL.5a), but it is plausible that the author concluded his work with the first consulate of Caesar, if not later.

The *Bibliotheke*, then, is compatible with the principle according to which a universal history should embrace the past occurrences of mankind from their beginning to the time of the author. Nonetheless, Diodorus went only as far as the year in which he had started working. If he had devoted thirty years to the task, as he himself declares, he had to recount the events following 59 BCE. Indeed, one must look into the dates at which he started the work and completed it but, first of all, it

[16] See below, Part II Chapter 4, pp. 168, 175–182.

is necessary to examine the possibility that he planned to continue his account beyond the year of Caesar's first consulate. In the *prooemium* Diodorus calculates the number of years encompassed in his history. Admitting that he cannot determine anything with precision for the period prior to the Trojan War, since no trustworthy chronological table survived, he states that from the Trojan War onwards he has followed Apollodorus. The latter lived in the second century BCE, but Diodorus does not name his authority for the first century.[17] Thus Diodorus counts eighty years from the Trojan War to the Return of the Heracleidae (1184–1104 BCE); from the Return of the Heracleidae to the first Olympiad 328 years (1104–776 BCE); from the first Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic War, which Diodorus considers the end of his history (ἥν τελευτὴν … τῆς ἱστορίας), 730 years (776–46 BCE). Diodorus concludes that in this way his forty books embrace 1138 years, and this excludes the years preceding the Trojan War (I.5.1).

These calculations raise several problems. In the chapter discussed above (I.5.1) and in the previous one (I.4.7), Diodorus maintains that his history embraces the events down to the beginning of the war (μέχρι τῆς ἀρχῆς … τοῦ μολέμου/εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ … μολέμου) between the Romans and the Celts. In both chapters the author points to one and the same event, but the dates are different. In I.4.7, as noted, he writes that the war started in the first year of the One Hundred and Eightieth Olympiad, when Herodes was archon in Athens (60/59 BCE); in I.5.1 he argues that 730 years elapsed from the first Olympiad to the outbreak of the Celtic War (or 1138 from the Trojan War), which brings us to the year 46 BCE. In addition to this discrepancy, one may also argue that Diodorus is mistaken regarding the starting year of the war. It was in 58 BCE that Caesar opened his campaign against the Gauls,[18] but in I.4.7 Diodorus speaks of the beginning (ἀρχή) of the war and its first events (αἱ πρῶται πράξεις), thus correctly dating it to 60/59 BCE.[19] This last issue illustrates Diodorus' implementation of another characteristic of universal history,

[17] It may have been Castor of Rhodes of the first century BCE: Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, p. 21 n. 3; Burton 1972, p. 42. For the fragments, see *FGrH*, IIB, 250 FF 1–5. See Sacks 1990, pp. 65–66 for Diodorus' treatment of Castor, and also Feeney 2007, pp. 79–81, discussing Diodorus' assertion that there was no reliable chronological data for the mythical period.

[18] Caes., *B Gall.*, I.6–7.

[19] Gelzer 1968, pp. 84–85; Sacks 1990, p. 177 and n. 78; Green 2006, p. 237 and n. 2. For the Roman concerns regarding the Gauls as early as 60 BCE, see Cic., *Att.*, I.19, 20 (cf. Dio, XXXVII.50.4) and also Rice Holmes 1971, pp. 37–40.

namely the need to attach to each event its proper date, which will be referred to later. For the present it is essential to determine the year whose occurrences terminated the *Bibliotheke*.

On the three occasions in which the British Isles are mentioned there are comments attesting to Diodorus' intention to include Caesar's operations in Gaul in his work. In III.38.2–3 he promises to deal with the British Isles and the far north "when we record the deeds of Gaius Caesar", ὅταν τὰς Γαΐου Καίσαρος πράξεις ἀναγράφωμεν, for Caesar extended the rule of Rome into those parts of the world. In V.21.2, having mentioned Caesar's name in his discussion of the island of Britain, Diodorus remarks that he will refer to Caesar's campaign there "in the proper periods of time", ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις. In the next chapter Diodorus adds that he will introduce a detailed account of the peculiar features of Britain "when we come to the expedition which Caesar made to Britain", ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν Βρεττανίαν παραγενηθῶμεν (V.22.1). One gains the impression that Diodorus intended to record the history of the world at least down to 50 BCE, the year in which Caesar's wars in Gaul came to an end (after his attempt to invade Britain in 55–54 BCE). Hence the idea that Diodorus meant to continue his history down to 46 BCE gets support.

What was Diodorus' plan? Did he wish to include in his work the achievements of Caesar both in the Gallic and the Civil Wars or rather, did he decide to exclude them altogether? There is no definite answer to this question. Some scholars argue that Diodorus' original plan was to conclude his work with the events of 46 BCE. At some point, however, due to his old age or his attempt to avoid dealing with the events of the years in which he lived in Rome, he changed his plan, deciding to stop at 60/59 BCE. His fault lies in his negligence to correct his calculations in the *prooemium* (he may have simply forgotten to do so) and to remove his comments regarding his future discourse on Caesar's campaign in Britain.[20] Others suggest that it was Diodorus' intention from the very beginning to fix 60 BCE as the final date of the *Bibliotheke* but, witnessing the occurrences of later years, he had second thoughts. As a consequence, he occasionally declared that he would treat Caesar in due time. Eventually, Diodorus maintained his initial framework for the work, while his calculations of the years that it would cover were simply an error of

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[20] Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, pp. xviii–xix; Sacks 1990, pp. 160, 169–171; Stylianou 1998, pp. 17–25 esp. 21; Rubincam 1998a, p. 229; Green 2006, pp. 237–241.

negligence.[21] There is no solid evidence for any of these explanations. It is not clear which year—60 or rather 46 BCE—was primarily determined by Diodorus as the closing date for his work. However, Diodorus' remarks that he would deal with Caesar's actions in Britain on one hand, and his declaration (twice in the introduction) that the outbreak of the Gallic War would be the limit for his history on the other, hint that he changed his mind while writing. Unlike Polybius,[22] he does not share his thoughts with his readers, nor does he elucidate his reasons for making the change. Furthermore, one expects Diodorus to go through his composition and to remove his comments regarding Caesar, yet it must be remembered that he did not enjoy modern technological devices. Evidently, it was not easy for him to locate details in a voluminous work, consisting of forty books, which were written over a long period of time. It is quite possible that Diodorus, admiring Caesar and appreciating his accomplishments, inserted similar remarks elsewhere in his work but managed to find and erase them. This technical obstacle may have also prevented the correction of the number of the Egyptian rulers according to Diodorus, as will be seen below (I.44.4).

It is much more difficult to explain Diodorus' error in reckoning the years from the Trojan War and the first Olympiad to the Gallic War. Nevertheless, since there is no contradiction between the dates of the events themselves but there is a discrepancy between these dates and the number of years that elapsed from one event to the other, it is likely that Diodorus had calculated the years which his work would cover at the beginning of his enterprise and, upon writing the introduction at the end (I.4.6), he used his old calculations, unaware of the fact that these no longer corresponded with his decision to shorten his history by nearly fifteen years.[23] This explanation strengthens, concomitantly, the assumption that his original plan was to reach 46 BCE. Whichever explanation one chooses, the fact remains that Diodorus wrote the history of the world down to his own age. Both dates—be that of 60 or 46 BCE—confirm this.

Diodorus' references to the affairs of his own days and occasionally to his personal deeds attest to the period in which he collected his material

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[21] Burton 1972, pp. 39–42; Atkinson 2000, p. 311; cf. Murphy 1990, p. 8 n. 8. For further explanations and discussion, see Wachsmuth 1892, pp. 4–6; Mazzarino 1983, vol. 2, pp. 410–412.

[22] Polyb., III.4.1–5.6.

[23] Cf. Sacks 1990, pp. 170–171.

and carried out his research as well as to the time of his writing. Dealing with the kings of Egypt, he argues that mortals governed that country for a little less than five thousand years down to the One Hundred and Eightieth Olympiad. He then adds that this was the time in which "we came to Egypt", ἡμεῖς μὲν παρεβάλομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, and Ptolemy, who took the name of the New Dionysus, reigned (I.44.1, cf. I.46.7). Elsewhere Diodorus says explicitly that he stayed in Egypt for the sake of research (I.83.9, III.11.3), hence it is clear that this had taken place during the rule of Ptolemy XII Auletes, namely 60–56 BCE. A further indication of the time in which Diodorus was working on his *Bibliotheke* is found in I.44.2–4. Relating to the ethnic identity of the Egyptian kings, Diodorus states that the first were natives, then came the Ethiopians, the Persians and then finally the Macedonians, who ruled for two hundred and seventy-six years. Counting these years from Alexander's conquest of Egypt, that is from 331 BCE as Diodorus himself knew (XVII.49.1–2), brings us to 55 BCE.

According to some scholars, the fact that the Macedonians are mentioned as the last rulers of Egypt proves that Diodorus concluded his composition before 30 BCE, the year in which Egypt became a Roman province.[24] Diodorus' claim that it took him thirty years to finish the work (I.4.1) and the supposition that he had started working circa 60/59 BCE support this view. However, certain signs which are found throughout the tales of the wandering gods and heroes—tales which will be referred to at length below (Part II)—show that Diodorus was still writing after 30 BCE, completing his work perhaps as late as 27 BCE. To take a few examples, the description of Sesostris as a sovereign who expanded his realm, brought peace to his subjects and let them enjoy it, is similar to Virgil's depiction of Augustus.[25] Osiris (I.19.5), Sesostris (I.57.1–3) and Heracles (I.19.2) developed an efficient irrigation system, consisting of canals and dikes, to increase the production of grain. In the same manner, Octavian (or rather Augustus, since the event might have taken place after January 27 BCE) instructed his soldiers to dredge the canals, clogged over the years, so that the waters of the Nile could run freely into them. His aim was to increase the crops and to guarantee a regular supply of grain

[24] Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, pp. x–xi; Rubincam 1987, p. 324; Sacks 1990, pp. 161, 168, 172–173 (cf. Sacks 1995, p. 170; Sacks 1998, pp. 437–442); Green 2006, pp. 2, 6–8; cf. Burton 1972, pp. 43–44 (who does not refer to this issue in her commentary on I.44.2–4, pp. 143–144); Rubincam 1985, p. 522; Yarrow 2006, pp. 88, 354. But see Ando 1999, pp. 23, 24, referring to Diodorus as an Augustan writer.

[25] Diod., I.55.12, 56.1; Verg., *Aen.*, VI.795; cf. *G.*, II.170.

to Rome.[26] India appears in five out of the six tales of heroes that will be examined in the present study. Osiris (I.19.6–8, 27.5), Sesostris (I.55.2–4), Semiramis (II.16.2–20.2, III.1.2), Dionysus (III.63.3–5, IV.1.7) and Heracles (II.39.1–4) reached India according to Diodorus, who obviously shows a special interest in that country. An interest in India is characteristic of the Hellenistic era (Alexander the Great, Antiochus III and the independent rulers of Bactria made expeditions to this country) but it is also typical of the Augustan age. India is not merely a territory to conquer or to reach for commercial purposes, but is used as a means to glorify the ruler of Rome. Augustus himself mentions Indian envoys that came to meet him; their importance is demonstrated in his remark that such envoys had never been seen before in the camp of any commander of the Romans. Works of other authors, be they of Augustus' time or later, confirm this piece of information,[27] but it is the references to India in the poetry of Diodorus' days which suggest that Diodorus was inspired by the same incidents. In his *Georgics*, published in 29 BCE, Virgil refers to Octavian as the one who averts the cowardly Indian from the fortresses of Rome: *imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum*. In the *Aeneid*, on which he worked from 29 BCE until his death (19 BCE), Virgil predicts that Augustus will extend his empire beyond the Garamantes and the Indians, to a land lying beyond the stars.[28] In the *Carmen Saeculare* of Horace one finds the verse *iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi nuper et Indi* (now the Scythians and the Indians, recently arrogant, are asking for answers). It may be argued that this is a late verse, published about 17 BCE, but an allusion to the same issue may be traced in the first book of his *Odes*, circulated circa 23 BCE.[29] Praising Augustus, Propertius writes: *India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho* (indeed India, Augustus, gives [its] necks to your triumph). The second book of Propertius,

[26] Suet., *Aug.*, 18.2; Dio, LI.17.1, 18.1. For further discussion, see below, Part II Chapter 5, pp. 246–252.

[27] *Mon. Anc.*, 31; Strabo, XV.1.4 C 686, 73 C 719; Suet., *Aug.*, 21; Florus, II.34.62; Eutrop., VII.10; Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 1.7; Hieron., *Chron.*, Ol. 188; Oros., VI.21.19. For the Indian embassies, see Friedländer 1913, vol. 4, pp. 12–14; Warmington 1974, pp. 35–38.

[28] Verg., *G.*, II.172; *Aen.*, VI.794–795, VIII.705. For the dates see, among others, Rushton Fairclough 1967, vol. 1, pp. ix–xi; Wilkinson 1969, pp. 16–49; Camps 1969, pp. 1–3 and also the text of Aelius Donatus' Life of Virgil, pp. 115–120; Horsfall 1995, pp. 1–25; Hardie 1998, pp. 1–3.

[29] Hor., *Carm. Saec.*, 55–56; *Carm.*, I.12.55–56. For the dates see, for example, Noyes 1947, pp. 197–209; Sedgwick 1947, esp. pp. 95, 135–139; Bennett 1968, pp. ix–x; Wilkinson 1968, pp. 7–18; Rudd 2004, pp. 3–9. See also Lyne 1995, passim and Zanker 1988, pp. 169–172.

from which this citation is taken, is dated between 28 and 25 BCE.[30] To add one more detail, the facts that Augustus' successors did not show similar enthusiasm towards India and that the expeditions to the eastern regions were renewed only under Nero[31] highlight the unique treatment by Augustus.[32]

One final example needs discussion. Heracles arrived at the site on which Rome was built during his journey to the west; Diodorus, unable to use the name of Rome regarding such an early age, chose the name of the Palatine instead (IV.21.1). It is possible that Diodorus had in mind Romulus, who founded the city on that hill,[33] but it is also likely that he was inspired by the deeds of Octavian. The latter gradually turned the Palatine from a prestigious residential area into the centre of Roman public life, a venture that was accelerated and accomplished after he became the sole ruler of Rome. Octavian, who was born on the Palatine Hill but dwelt for a while in the *forum Romanum*, moved back to the Palatine, establishing his house there as his headquarters (τὸ στρατήγιον).[34] After his

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[30] Prop., II.10.15, cf. IV.3.10. For the dates see, for example, Butler 1912, pp. vii–x; Hubbard 1975, pp. vii–viii, 41–44; Goold 1990, pp. 1–3.

[31] Plin., *NH*, VI.181.

[32] The commercial aspect is also worth noting. The trade with India, which had begun to develop after the Roman annexation of Egypt due, among other causes, to the fact that it made India much easier to reach and to the Romans' affection for eastern luxury, continued its growth under the early principate. During his journey to Ethiopia in the company of the Roman governor of Egypt, Strabo observed 120 ships setting sail from the port of Myos Hormos to India (24 BCE). This, according to Strabo, was in marked contrast to the time of the Ptolemies, when not many vessels dared to sail to India in order to bring valuable merchandise to Egypt whence it was sent forth to other regions (II.5.12 C 118, XVII.1.13 C 798). Pliny, some decades later, records the vast amount of money that the Romans spent each year on Indian goods, a fact which, in his opinion, makes the route from Egypt to India into a *digna res*, an issue well worth discussing (*NH.*, VI.101). See, for example, Stevenson 1923, pp. 164–165; Charlesworth 1951, pp. 131–143; Charlesworth 1961, pp. 58–73; Warmington 1974, pp. 35–41; Meijer, van Nijf 1992, pp. 124–129. See also Sulimani 2005, pp. 60–61.

[33] Liv., I.6.4–7.3, 12.4; Vell. Pat., I.8.4; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I.79.11, 85.6, 86.2, 87.3–4; Plut., *Rom.*, 20; Tac., *Ann.*, XII.24; Gell., *NA*, XIII.14.2. Thus the original inhabitants of Rome were the residents of the Palatine, Liv., I.33.1–2; Strabo, V.3.7 C 234. See, for instance, Cornell 1995, pp. 60, 72–75, 200–201 and passim; Grandazzi 1997, esp. pp. 143–176.

[34] Suet., *Aug.*, 5, 57.2, 72.1–2; Dio, LIII.16.5, LV.12.4. This is the reason for naming the residence of the emperors "Palatium" even when it was located elsewhere (Dio, LIII.16.5; Gell., *NA*, XIX.13.1; cf. Tac., *Hist.*, III.70, 74, 84) and also the root of the word "palace" (Barnhart 1988, s.v. palace; Ayto 1990, s.v. palace; Chantrell 2002, s.v. palace). It is interesting to read an epigram of Martial (I.70) in which he sends his book from his home on the Quirinal to Proculus on the Palatine, with the interpretation of Geyssen

victory over Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE, Octavian initiated the erection of a temple to Apollo on the site of his house on the Palatine Hill, which had been struck by lightning, an incident which the *haruspices* interpreted as a sign of the god's will. Close to the temple dedicated to the god in 28 BCE, a colonnade and a library, consisting of two departments (Latin and a Greek), were constructed.[35] In compensation, and as a reward for his public service, the senate decreed that Octavian's new house be built on the Palatine out of public funds.[36] It seems that this house was ready at approximately the same time as Apollo's temple, since in January 27 BCE the senate voted that its doorposts be covered with laurels and a crown of oak leaves placed above the door.[37] Interestingly, other authors who mention the Palatine in their descriptions of Heracles' journey with the cattle of Geryon were Diodorus' contemporaries. While Propertius states explicitly that Heracles came to the Palatine, Dionysius of Halicarnassus implies that the hero reached the hill or, at least, a site nearby, maintaining

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1999, suggesting that the route described by the poet also leads to Domitian's palace on the Palatine thus seeing the poem as a request for the patronage of the emperor himself rather than Proculus.

[35] Vell. Pat., II.81.3; *Mon. Anc.*, 19; Ovid., *Tr.*, III.1.59–68; Prop., IV.6.11; Plin., *NH*, XXXVI.24, 25, 32; Dio, XLIX.15.5, LIII.1.3; Suet., *Aug.*, 29; cf. *CIL*, VI.5188, 5189, 5884. Later, Augustus used to receive envoys in this place (Joseph., *BJ*, II.6.1) and to assemble the senate there from time to time (Tac., *Ann.*, II.37; Suet., *Aug.*, 29). Horace composed a prayer to celebrate the opening of Apollo's temple (*Carm.*, I.31) and various descriptions suggest that it was the most magnificent of all Augustus' buildings (esp. Prop., II.31.1–16; Vell. Pat., II.81.3; Joseph., *BJ*, II.6.1). One gains the impression that the shrine became one of Rome's central sites, simultaneously with the increasing importance of Apollo and the *princeps*' high regard of this god. See Platner 1965, pp. 16–19; Richardson 1992, p. 14; Liebeschuetz 1979, pp. 82–85; Zanker 1988, pp. 24, 50–53, 169; Gurval 1995, pp. 87–136; Beard, North, Price 1998, vol. 1, pp. 198–199. The relocation of the Sibyllan Books from the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol to the temple of Apollo in the Palatine (Suet., *Aug.*, 31.1; Verg., *Aen.*, VI.69–74), to be discussed below (see Part II Chapter 4, pp. 176–177), strengthens this impression due to the significance accorded to the Sibyllan prophecies in the Augustan era and the fact that this was the time in which the idea of a connection between Apollo and the Sibylla took shape.

[36] Dio, XLIX.15.5.

[37] *Fast. Praen.*, Jan. 13; *Mon. Anc.*, 34; Dio, LIII.16.4; Ovid., *Fasti*, I.613–614, VI.951–954. For the date, see also Platner 1965, p. 157. Augustus' house was destroyed again in 3 CE, this time by fire, and when the people of Rome contributed towards its repair, the *princeps* took not more than one *denarius* from each individual (Suet., *Aug.*, 57.2; Dio, LV.12.4; Plin., *NH*, XXXV.83). For the house of Augustus, see Platner 1965, pp. 156–158; Nash 1968, vol. 1, pp. 310–315; Carettoni 1983, passim; Zanker 1988, pp. 280–281; Richardson 1992, pp. 117–118. The significance that Augustus assigned the Palatine is also shown in the grant of Antony's residence to Agrippa and Messalla (Dio, LIII.27.5) as well as in his purchase of the house of Q. Lutatius Catulus to which the teacher of his grandsons relocated his school (Suet., *Gram.*, 17; Plin., *NH*, XVII.2).

that a certain part of Heracles' force settled close to the city of Pallantium, which is adjacent to the Capitoline Hill. According to Pausanias, Pallantium was the name given in memory of an Arcadian city to the part of Rome which had been the place in which Evander and a group of settlers from the Arcadian Pallantium established a colony near the River Tiber. Afterwards, Pausanias adds, the name underwent a change, omitting two letters: L and N.[38] Indeed Virgil, Diodorus' contemporary, mentions the River Tiber but not the Palatine on Heracles' way, and Strabo, somewhat later, notes a version according to which Rome had been initially an Arcadian colony that Heracles had visited during his journey with the cattle of Geryon, but with no reference to the Palatine.[39] Yet it is significant that Diodorus and Propertius are the only authors to mention the name of the Palatine. Propertius, who probably began writing circa 29 BCE, was younger than Diodorus. However, if we assume, as I suggest, that Diodorus worked on his *Bibliotheke* as late as 27 BCE, then both were inspired by the same developments, namely those which had turned the Palatine into the centre of Roman public life. Thus, according to their version, Heracles visited the heart of Rome.[40] The fact that earlier writers, such as Herodotus and Apollodorus, omit the site on which Rome was built in their depiction of Heracles' expedition strengthens this assumption.[41]

How does this supposition agree with Diodorus' statement that the Macedonians were the last sovereigns of Egypt? First, it is possible that Diodorus had completed his first book before the Roman conquest of Egypt, perhaps circa 55 BCE, but failed to correct Egypt's list of rulers though he was still engaged in writing.[42] Secondly, if one assumes that Diodorus' assertion regarding the rulers of Egypt proves that he did not

[38] Prop., IV.9.1–10; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, II.1.3–4; Paus., VIII.43.2.

[39] Verg., *Aen.*, VII.661–663, cf. VIII.202; Strabo, V.3.3 C 230.

[40] It is worth noting that Heracles and the Palatine appear in Propertius' fourth book which is dated roughly to 16 BCE (see, for example, Hubbard 1975, pp. vii; Goold 1990, p. 2), hence making Diodorus the original author.

[41] Referring to Heracles' journey with the cattle of Geryon, Herodotus mentions only Erythea, Gadeira and the Pillars of Heracles (Hdt., IV.8), while Apollodorus, in a more detailed description, states that Heracles came to Liguria, thence made his way through Tyrrhenia, visited Rhegium and swam across to Sicily (*Bibl.*, II.5.10).

[42] That Diodorus was accustomed to add details to the books that he had completed is shown, for instance, in the mention of Caesar's deification in various places in his work (e.g. I.4.7, IV.19.2, V.21.2, 25.4) as well as in the case of Tauromenium which will be discussed below. See Burton 1972, p. 44 and compare to Sacks 1990, pp. 171–172 who argues that Diodorus' references to Caesar's veneration indicate that he wrote the book in which they appear after Caesar had been deified. In Sacks' opinion, Diodorus had

write after 30 BCE, then one should equally maintain that the author's statement according to which the Macedonians ruled Egypt for two hundred and seventy-six years suggests that he had concluded the *Bibliotheke* before 55 BCE and this is highly unacceptable. Thirdly, there is no need to believe that in saying that he worked on his history for thirty years Diodorus meant precisely thirty years. It may well be that he consciously rounded off the number, as did Cicero in his speeches for instance.[43] It is thus feasible that Diodorus was engaged in writing his history for approximately thirty years.

Other references to the events of his age shed light on the time of his writing. Recounting the respect in which various animals were held in Egypt, Diodorus presents an incident in which a member of a Roman delegation to Egypt killed a cat. The multitude demanded that the Roman envoy be punished, despite the Egyptian fear of Rome and the fact that the envoy's act had been an accident. Dating the event, Diodorus states that it was at the time when the king Ptolemy had not as yet been titled "friend" by the Romans (καθ' ὅν χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὔπω προσηγόρευτο φίλος) and remarks: we do not tell this from hearsay (τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἡμεῖς ἱστοροῦμεν), but we saw (it) ourselves (αὐτοὶ ... ἑορακότες) during the visit in Egypt (I.83.8–9). Again, Ptolemy Auletes is meant. The king won Rome's approval in 59 BCE, hence Diodorus must have already been in Egypt early that year or at the end of 60 BCE.[44]

An additional allusion to Diodorus' time may be found in his discourse on Tauromenium. Diodorus says that this Sicilian city became a Roman colony ἐν τῷ καθ' ἥμας βίῳ, in our own lifetime, after Octavian had forced its inhabitants to leave their homeland (XVI.7.1). A more accurate date may be deduced from the accounts of Appian and Cassius Dio. According to Appian, Octavian landed at the shores of Tauromenium with his fleet during his war against Sextus Pompey, but the city refused

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devoted several years to research only (possibly 60–46 BCE) and then began writing. See also Sacks 1998, pp. 437–442 for further references to contemporary events in Diodorus' work which suggest the time of writing.

[43] In his first speech against Catilina, Cicero complained that the Romans did not put into practice the *senatus consultum ultimum* against the conspirator, although twenty days had passed since the senate made its decision. Cicero made his speech on the eighth of November; the *senatus consultum ultimum* had been announced on 21st October (63 BCE). Hence only eighteen days had elapsed (*Cat.*, I.2.4). See Asc., *Pis.*, pp. 5–6C, referring to Cicero's habit of rounding off numbers.

[44] See Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, p. viii; Sacks 1990, pp. 167–168. For Rome accepting Ptolemy Auletes, see Suet., *Iul.*, 54.3.

to surrender. Preparing an attack, Octavian sailed towards Naxos, but was caught by surprise and defeated by Pompey. Dio's remark that Octavian pardoned the surrendered cities of Sicily but punished those who rejected his rule suggests that Tauromenium was penalized by expelling its residents and turning it into a Roman colony.[45] It seems likely that this had taken place about 36 BCE, the time of the war in Sicily. Dio presents a certain difficulty for, referring to 21 BCE, he states that Augustus founded Roman colonies in Syracuse and in several other cities. Nonetheless, Tauromenium probably became a colony some fifteen years earlier, as an act of revenge on Octavian's part, who did not wait until 21 BCE to retaliate.[46] The circumstances in which the status of each city, Syracuse and Tauromenium, had been changed support this conjecture. While the foundation of a Roman colony in Syracuse was an act of goodwill—to restore the city after the damage caused by Sextus Pompey—the intention in the case of Tauromenium was to harm its inhabitants.[47] It is reasonable to assume that Octavian settled some of his veterans in Tauromenium after the battle of Actium.[48] In 36 BCE, therefore, Diodorus was still writing his history and, moreover, assuming that Book XVI was written before this year, one may conclude that he went back to his finished books, adding to them up to date details.

Both Diodorus' direct statements and the allusions to the events of his days which pervade the *Bibliotheke* show that he was probably engaged in working on his history from 60 to 27 BCE at the very least.[49] Since Diodorus' history reaches 60 BCE and includes the events of later years—

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[45] App., *B Civ.*, V.109–111; Dio, XLIX.12.5.

[46] Dio, LIV.7.1. See Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, pp. ix–x; Burton 1972, p. 41 n. 1; Rubincam 1985, pp. 521–522; Sacks 1990, p. 168. Compare to Stone 1983, pp. 11–22 who, based on archaeological findings, argues that the establishment of the colony in Tauromenium was part of the rehabilitation of the Sicilian towns in the late twenties of the first century BCE.

[47] For Syracuse, see Strabo, VI.2.4 C 270. Plin., *NH*, III.88–89 simply notes that Syracuse and Tauromenium were two of five Roman colonies in Sicily.

[48] *Mon. Anc.*, 16; Hor., *Sat.*, II.6.55–56.

[49] Note also *Suda*, s.v. Διόδωρος, according to which Diodorus lived "at the time of Augustus Caesar and earlier", ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος καὶ ἐπάνω. Though ἐπάνω can mean "above" and "more", thus one is tempted to translate "in the time of Augustus Caesar and afterward" as suggested by Sacks 1990, p. 164 (cf. Botteri 1992, pp. 7–8 with the criticism of Sacks 1995, p. 170), I agree with Green 2006, p. 2. For when time is concerned, one should translate this adverb as "formerly" (see Liddell, Scott 1996, s.v. ἐπάνω; McDougall 1997, s.v. ἐπάνω). This does not weaken my assumption, since "the time of Augustus Caesar and earlier" may well include 27 BCE. Sacks, however, believes that the *Suda* is basing Diodorus' biographical data on an expanded version of the *Bibliotheke* created by a later editor (Sacks 1995, p. 170).

taking into consideration that he occasionally refers to later occurrences—it is safe to say that he carries out one of two most important criteria of universal history: it should begin with the earliest times and end in the days of the author. This joins a second essential principle which he fulfils, namely to cover the entire inhabited world geographically and ethnographically. It remains to be seen whether Diodorus' work accomplishes three other criteria posed by the author himself: dealing with a variety of issues, being meticulous with regard to dates and showing a link between the events. Treating history from political, economic, cultural, religious, social and martial points of view, and putting an emphasis on geography, Diodorus obviously made an effort to discuss diverse topics. His discourse on Egypt reveals the interdisciplinary nature of his work. He elaborates on the topography of the land, on its climate, its borders and natural resources (I.29.6–41.10); he discusses the Egyptians' beliefs and their gods (e.g. I.11.1–29.6, 83.1–90.4), examines their customs and culture, including the education of the children and the development of sciences such as astronomy and astrology (e.g. I.50.1–2, 69.1–82.3, V.57.2–4), surveys the social structure, marriages and child birth (e.g. I.27.1–2, 28.5, 73.1–74.8, 80.3–81.7) and records census data and figures regarding the income of the crown (I.46.5, XVII.52.6, XVIII.6.3). Finally, he does not leave out wars and conquests (e.g. X.14.1–15.1, XVII.49.1–2, XVIII.14.1), nor does he omit the behaviour and policies of rulers (e.g. I.83.8, XXXIV/XXXV.20.1).

Diodorus was not always accurate in dating the events. Although this is not the place to elaborate on this subject, a few examples are required. Diodorus, to begin with, is accustomed to open a discussion of the events of a certain year noting the name of the Athenian archon (*eponymos*), the names of the Roman consuls and every four years the number of the Olympiad and the name of the victor in the *stadion*. This chronological system, which pervades the historical narrative, is evidently compatible with the universal nature of the *Bibliotheke*—the Olympiads were established as the proper temporal framework for universal histories through the works of authors such as Timaeus of Tauromenium and Polybius,[50] the Athenian archons continued to be used as a means of dating (together with the Spartan kings and the priests of Hera in Argos), notwithstanding the decline of Athens in Hellenistic times, while the expansion of the Roman rule throughout the Mediterranean basin interweaved the affairs

[50] For the development, see Clarke 2008, pp. 109–121.

of Italy with those of Libya, Greece and Asia, to follow Polybius' idea.[51] Yet this combination of Olympiads with Athenian and Roman eponymous magistrates caused some of the inaccuracies, partly because the archons and the consuls assumed their duties at different dates in the year. Diodorus' use of the Roman *Fasti* (or sources recording such lists) led to further errors, mainly due to their neglecting the years in which there were no consuls.[52] An illuminating instance both of his temporal system and his failure to put the right consuls next to the archon and the number of the Olympiad is found in XI.1.2; recording the date of the Persian invasion into Greece, Diodorus writes that Xerxes made his campaign when Calliades was archon in Athens, the Romans elected Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius Tricostus consuls, and the Seventy-fifth Olympiad, in which Astylus of Syracuse won the *stadion*, was celebrated by the Eleians. While correct in naming Calliades as the archon of 480 BCE, Diodorus is mistaken in juxtaposing the consuls of 486 BCE.[53] In many other cases the name of the archon does not correspond with that of the consuls. Next to the archon of 331/330 BCE, for example, the consuls of 334 BCE are mentioned (XVII.49.1), whereas the consuls of 317/316 BCE in Diodorus' account are probably those of 318 BCE (XIX.2.1).[54]

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[51] Polyb., I.3.4. This time-frame was also "appropriate to an author working within a Greek historiographical tradition while living under the government of the Roman Empire", as pointed out by Rubincam 1997, pp. 131–132. See also Clarke 2008, p. 131.

[52] For Diodorus' dating system and his chronological sources, see Càssola 1982, pp. 724–773; Sacks 1990, pp. 64–66; Stylianou 1998, pp. 25–47; Clarke 1999a, 12–13; Clarke 1999b, pp. 255–261; Green 2006, pp. 9–12; Yarrow 2006, pp. 132, 153; Clarke 2008, pp. 121–139.

[53] Cf. Liv., II.41.1; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, VIII.68.1, IX.51.1. Diodorus refers again to Spurius Cassius as the consul of 480 BCE in XI.37.7. See Broughton 1951, vol. 1, p. 20; Green 2006, pp. 49 n. 2, 96.

[54] Cf. Liv., VIII.16.12, IX.20.1; Vell. Pat., I.14.3. See Broughton 1951, vol. 1, pp. 140, 154. For a survey of the names of the Roman magistrates in Diodorus, see Perotti 1984, pp. 161–176, 267–280 (esp. 279), and for his Roman chronology see, in addition to the studies mentioned above, Stuart Jones 1954, pp. 321–326; Cornell 1989, pp. 347–350; Drummond 1989, pp. 625–627; Spoerri 1991, pp. 312–313. For Diodorus' dealing with years in which there were no consuls, see e.g. XII.23.1 (444 BCE: next to the archon and the number of the Olympiad the names of eight of the *decemviri*, elected to draw up the laws, are listed; but these, in fact, belong to 451 BCE. Two of them were probably omitted by a careless scribe), and XII.32.1 (437 BCE: three military tribunes, who were actually elected for 444 BCE, appear alongside the archon), with the commentary of Green 2006, pp. 209–210, 226. The case of XIV.3.1 is also worth mentioning. In the absence both of Athenian and Roman regular magistrates (404 BCE), Diodorus maintains his triangular dating system by noting the number of years which passed from the fall of Troy and by listing the names of four military tribunes alongside the number of the Olympiad. Again, the military tribunes belong to an earlier year, 407 BCE. See Broughton 1951, vol. 1, p. 79.

Diodorus' vagueness in dating the events may also be seen in the omission of a precise date, replacing it with a phrase such as "in our own lifetime", as in the case of Tauromenium mentioned above, which became a Roman colony ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ (XVI.7.1). Likewise, Julius Caesar is said to have bridged the Rhenus (Rhine) in an incredible manner ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις (in our own times), thus leading his army across the river on foot (V.25.4). An interesting example is found in V.20.2, where he describes the temple of Heracles in Gadeira, stating that it was held in extraordinary honour both then (καὶ τότε)—i.e. at the time of its foundation which Diodorus does not specify—and in more recent times (καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους) until our own age (μέχρι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας). While the indistinctness of τότε may be justified on the grounds that there was "no trustworthy chronological table" for the mythical period (see below), the other two expressions refer to historical times with a similar lack of precision.[55]

The difficulty in reconciling the calendars of various peoples and working with many diverse sources might explain some of Diodorus' errors (some of which may be due to the misconceptions of his chronographical authorities). A thorough discussion of this matter need not be of concern here, yet the fact remains that Diodorus tried to date the events and to create a chronological sequence, even if he was not always successful. One gets the impression that he believed that he was following the fourth principle of a universal history, as he himself had defined it. Furthermore, he was aware of the problems that the historian encounters in dating an event, recognizing, concomitantly, the significance of setting the proper dates. In his *prooemium* he admits, as mentioned, that because no trustworthy chronological table (διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παράπηγμα ... πιστευόμενον) for the period preceding the Trojan War has survived, he cannot define times with accuracy for this age. As for the period following the Trojan War, Diodorus states that he followed Apollodorus (I.5.1) but, explaining the obstacles to achieving precision in dating for the period around the Trojan War to the first Olympiad, he says that, due to the lack of annual magistracies in Athens and elsewhere, he will use the Spartan kings for dating the events (VII.8.1). At any rate, it can be said to his credit that he made a genuine effort to write his history according to reliable chronological records.

[55] Cf. XIII.35.3, XVIII.1.3; XXXII.4.4.

Did Diodorus succeed in showing the links between events? In other words, did he create a sequence by connecting one event to another? A reading of the introductions to his books and their conclusions reveals that this was his intention. The opening and the concluding remarks of the separate books will be examined in detail below, in the discussion of Diodorus' working methods.[56] Here I will concentrate on the use that he makes of them in order to demonstrate his effort to link the occurrences that he dealt with. In the introductions Diodorus usually reviews the issues with which the previous book (or several books) is concerned and, having done that, he introduces the subject of the present book. In the conclusions, he refers to the last issue discussed and occasionally directs the reader to the contents of the next book. The transition from Book XVI to XVII provides an instructive example. Summing up Book XVI, Diodorus states that, having reached the death of Philip, he will close this book and open the next with Alexander's succession to the throne (XVI.95.5). In the *prooemium* of Book XVII he writes that in the preceding book he had treated the affairs from Philip's coronation to his death (including the deeds of other kings and peoples), while in the present one he will record τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις beginning with Alexander's accession and closing with his death, recounting his actions as well as events in other parts of the inhabited world which occurred in the same years (XVII.1.1–2). Any attempt to translate the Greek phrase would spoil its meaning. I suggest using the adjective in its two senses, continuous and contiguous, as the expression attests to Diodorus' desire to maintain a sequence and continuity as well as to hold the events together.[57]

Another good example is the link between the second and the third book. At the end of Book II Diodorus remarks that Iambulus—whose writings were referred to in the last chapters of the book (II.55.2–60.3)—wrote about India as well, but he himself will conclude the book at this point (II.60.3). In the prologue to the third book, after recalling briefly the subjects of the first two books—a thorough description of Egypt, Assyria, Arabia and Scythia—he states that in the current book he will introduce "the matters which are connected with those that we narrated previously" and adds that he intends to discuss the peoples of

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[56] See Part I Chapter 3, pp. 111–127, 135–138.

[57] For συνεχής, see Liddell, Scott 1996, s.v.: holding together, continuous, contiguous, conjoined; cf. McDougall 1997, s.v.: continuous, unremitting.

Ethiopia and Libya. Again, the Greek, τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προϊστορημένοις, is significant. Diodorus' use of the adjective συνεχής is no coincidence. One finds a similar formula in several introductions (XI.1.1, XIII.1.3, XIV.1.3–4, XV.1.6, XIX.1.9, XX.2.3) and even in the opening comments of the second part of Book I (I.42.2). Bearing in mind that in the *prooemium* to the whole work, explaining the principle of a universal history which is under discussion here, Diodorus argues that "the whole is more useful than the parts and the continuity (τὸ συνεχές) than the discontinuity" (I.3.8), it becomes clear that he wishes to demonstrate that he practises what he preaches.

Does he indeed do this? The *Bibliotheke* certainly has the appearance of a treatise in which the author describes events which are interwoven with one another. But does this appearance reflect a genuine link between the various issues discussed or is it merely a sleight of hand on his part in order to conceal the absence of such a link? In Polybius, for instance, one can find a causal relation between the occurrences and a thread going through them; one war caused another and Rome, which was somehow involved in all of these wars, is the leading thread.[58] Diodorus obviously did not analyse the events like Polybius, yet he did not claim that he did. According to Polybius, the essential part of history is that which concerns the consequences of the events, their concomitant circumstances and particularly their causes (περὶ τὰς αἰτίας).[59] Diodorus, on the other hand, emphasizes the unremitting nature of the occurrences (τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις, e.g. XVI.8.7, XVII.1.2 and elsewhere). Each author adopts a different principle to create a well-intertwined narrative. Comparing Diodorus' method to that of Polybius, who explores and examines the events in depth in order to answer the question posed at the outset of his work, the effort of Diodorus, who adheres to the chronological order, seems simpler. Yet even Diodorus endeavours to organize his work as one unit rather than a collection of unconnected events. His remarks indicating a transition from the discussion of one subject to the other and ideas

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[58] Polyb., III.1.1–3.9, 32.1–10 (esp. 6–7), VI.2.8, 28.1–6; cf. III.6.1–7.7, XXII.18.1–11. See Bury 1958, pp. 236–237; Drews 1960, p. 12; Pédech 1964, pp. 75–98 and passim; Walbank 1972, pp. 157–165; Sacks 1981, pp. 110–112, 123–144. See also Sheridan 2010, pp. 50–51 who, comparing Polybius' treatment of Rome to that of Diodorus, suggests that while Polybius chose universal history in order to underline Rome's emerging power, Diodorus used the same genre in order to place Rome's achievement within a broader context.

[59] Polyb., III.32.6. For the translation of Polybius' terms, see Walbank 1957, vol. 1, p. 360; Sacks 1981, pp. 111–112 and n. 38.

which appear throughout the *Bibliotheke* attest to that. Several examples will illustrate this point.

Book III ends with the myth of Dionysus as the Libyans told it (III.74.6). In the introduction to Book IV Diodorus states that he will recount the stories of the famous heroes according to the Greeks, commencing with Dionysus because he is very ancient but, more important, because he conferred great benefits upon mankind. Diodorus then gives a short summary of the versions which he has already introduced (IV.1.5–7). This example is illuminating not only due to the link which the author creates between two consecutive books, but also because he connects the topic discussed in the introduction to the first subject of the book. That topic was the need to include mythology in a historical treatise notwithstanding the difficulties involved, since it records the deeds of heroes who benefited the human race (IV.1.1–4). In a similar way Diodorus correlates the eleventh and the twelfth Books. The affairs of 451 BCE in Sicily were the last issue with which Book XI dealt. Yet, since Book XII opens with the hostilities between Athens and Cyprus (450 BCE), Diodorus adds a sentence at the end of Book XI in which he writes that, having reached the year prior to the war of the Athenians against Cyprus, he will conclude this book in accordance with the plan stated at the beginning (XI.92.5, XII.2.3, cf. XI.1.1). Again, he binds the theme of the introduction to the book—the inconsistency in the life of human beings, in which there is no absolute good or bad—with its first subject, presenting the affairs of Athens as an example (XII.1.1–2.1). Similarly, the death of Alexander serves as a link between Books XVII and XVIII and exemplifies the topic which Diodorus discusses in the introduction to Book XVIII (XVII.118.4, XVIII.1.1–6). He assigns a similar role to the tyranny of Agathocles in Syracuse between Books XVIII–XIX (XVIII.74.3, XIX.1.1–2.1), and there are other instances, such as the link between Books XIII–XIV and the beginning of the fifteenth book.

Hence the *Bibliotheke* fulfils the fifth criterion of universal history according to the author's own definition, namely connecting the events. However, Diodorus' interpretation of this principle is somewhat superficial as compared to Polybius' profound analysis, and his method is in stark contrast to the sophistication of his predecessor. Moreover, in view of his theoretical explanation in the *prooemium* to the whole work, in which he employs philosophical ideas and allegories in order to emphasize the importance of the unity of a historical treatise, the simplicity of Diodorus' implementation of this criterion is particularly manifest. Yet he had a method, as basic as it was, and did not lack sophistication

altogether. One may find in the *Bibliotheke* certain recurrent motifs which appear in various parts of the work, thus connecting different topics to one another. Conferring benefits upon mankind and consequent immortal honours or honours equal to those of the gods is one notable motif; the concept according to which leaders should treat their subjects and those conquered by them with clemency is another. These themes will be examined in the next chapter;[60] for the time being, it is worth noting that Diodorus ascribes clemency to mythical heroes such as Sesostris, Myrina, Dionysus and Heracles, and to peoples (e.g. the Athenians, the Spartans and the Romans) as well as to historical figures (Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar are the obvious examples). Osiris, Semiramis, Dionysus and Heracles gained immortal honours on account of their deeds, and so did Alexander, Caesar, Gelon and Dion of Syracuse, Philopoemen of Achaea and others. The appearance of these concepts throughout the *Bibliotheke*, in the accounts of various figures from diverse nations and different periods of time, indicate the unity of the work. Furthermore, Diodorus mentions the deification of persons who benefited mankind in his general *prooemium* (I.2.4–5) and even presents the historian as a benefactor who gains eternal honour. It is quite possible that Diodorus, without stating it explicitly, thought that this was a bonding idea.

Diodorus had another unique way to point out a link between events. As previously noted, he made use of the adjective συνεχής to indicate both the continuous and contiguous nature of his narrative. Repeating phrases such as τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας and αἱ συνεχεῖς πράξεις,[61] he makes clear that the historian should record the affairs just as they occur in life, namely to describe different actions which happen at the same time (XX.43.7). Acting on his convictions, he arranges his account chronologically, moving from the events in one part of the world to another within the narrative of a single year. In XII.31.1–3, for instance, recording the events of 438 BCE, he recounts the affairs of Italy (the formation of the nation of the Campani), Asia (the succession of Spartacus in the Cimmerian Bosporus) and Greece (the war of Corinth against Corcyra). In XIX.66.1–72.9, the occurrences of 314 BCE are under discussion.

[60] See below, pp. 64–108. For the lenient behaviour of leaders towards the residents of the land in which they acted, see also Part II Chapter 6, pp. 311–312.

[61] τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας: XI.1.1; XV.1.6, 39.3; XVI.1.6, 60.5, 65.9; XVII.6.3; XVIII.19.1; αἱ συνεχεῖς πράξεις: XIII.1.1; XIV.2.4; XVI.8.7; XVII.1.2; XX.21.3.

Commencing with the activities of Antigonus and Cassander in Greece and Asia, and summing up by saying that these were the events in Greece and Asia (69.3), he shifts to Sicily with a clear statement (κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν, 70.1) and, before turning to Italy, employing a similar wording (72.3), he concludes that these were the events in Sicily at this time (72.2). The discussions of the *Diadochi* and Sicily are resumed in XIX.73.1 and 102.1 respectively, in the account of 313 BCE, while the Samnite War, previously mentioned in XIX.65.7, came to an end.[62] Hence Diodorus chooses the temporal order to be a dominant thread to weave through the events and connect them. Again, compared to Polybius, who demonstrates a causal relation between the occurrences, Diodorus' method may appear rather insignificant, yet it was not an easy task in a treatise dealing with the affairs of the entire inhabited world. Moreover, as Diodorus points out, he had to sacrifice another methodological principle, for he believed that recording the actions of states or kings from beginning to end (αὐτοτελεῖς πράξεις), as he did in Book XVI (Philip II) and XVII (Alexander), was the best way to make history comprehensible to the reader (XVI.1.1). However, he tried to combine an arrangement according to the topics dealt with in the narrative together with the chronological order, as he himself explains in the introduction to his sixteenth and seventeenth books. He states in the latter, for instance, that in the books concentrating on the career of Philip and Alexander he also records the affairs of other kings and peoples which occurred during their reign (XVII.1.1–2; cf. XVI.1.1–3, 6; XV.95.4).[63]

A careful scrutiny of Diodorus' discussion of universal history reveals a detailed definition of this genre, which he himself adopts in writing his treatise. One needs to ask now whether he adopted a well-known genre, perhaps adding to its features, or invented a wholly new one. Diodorus' references to authors who had written universal histories prove that he used an existing genre. Herodotus, according to him, began his work with the period prior to the Trojan War, embracing in nine books "almost all

[62] For further examples, see XV.2.1–7.4 (the events of 386 BCE); XV.8.1–13.5 (385 BCE); XX.37.1–44.9 (308 BCE). For a discussion and criticism of Diodorus' method, see Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, p. xviii; Clarke 1999b, pp. 266–267.

[63] The importance of the chronological sequence may also be seen in remarks such as in XVI.1.6 and XVIII.19.1, in which Diodorus either explains the necessity to go back in time, leaving for a while "the continuity of the history", or states that, having completed his description of one war, he will turn to the other, in order not to digress too much from "the continuity of the history". See further below, Part I Chapter 3, esp. pp. 117–118, 139, 147–148.

the general actions of the inhabited world", κοινὰς σχεδόν τι τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις, concluding with the battle of the Greeks against the Persians at Mycale and the siege of Sestus (479 BCE) (XI.37.6). In his phrasing, Diodorus classifies Herodotus' work as a universal history.[64] He does so again in the case of Ephorus, who wrote τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις (the general actions) in thirty books which comprise the deeds both of the Greeks and the barbarians from the return of the Heracleidae to the siege of Perinthus (341/0 BCE) (V.1.4, XVI.76.5).[65] Diodorus compliments both of them—he praises Herodotus for his wide knowledge of history (I.37.4), while Ephorus is eulogized for his method of working (V.1.4)—but also criticizes them. For instance, both authors failed to explain certain phenomena of the Nile (I.37.4, 38.8–12, 39.7–13), Herodotus occasionally preferred marvellous tales to the truth (I.69.7, II.15.1–2, X.24.1), whereas Ephorus did not abide by one of the essential criteria of universal history: he had undertaken to write the universal deeds (ὑποστησάμενος γράφειν τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις), but omitted the ancient mythologies (τὰς μὲν παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ὑπερέβη), beginning his treatise with the return of the Heracleidae (IV.1.3). Diodorus, as noted, argues that a universal history should include the old myths (I.3.2, 6). Moreover, Diodorus' emphasis that Herodotus favoured marvellous tales may suggest that, in his opinion, the Father of History was not accurate as far as the dating of the events is concerned, nor did he maintain a proper chronological order which, in Diodorus' view, is another important principle of the genre (I.3.2, 3.8). This supposition is all the more plausible, bearing in mind Herodotus' habit to cut off his narrative, inserting stories about certain persons or places without stating their time. Diodorus, then, admits that he adopted a literary genre which had existed long before his age; however, in revealing the deficiencies of his predecessors, he makes known that he did not unquestioningly accept their formula to the letter.

Polybius' absence from Diodorus' list of previous universal historians is striking. Diodorus mentions Polybius' relationship with Scipio Aemilianus, presents him as the author of the *Histories*, τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας συντεταγμένον (XXXI.26.5, cf. XXXII.24.1) and quotes him (XXVI.24.1), but

[64] For Herodotus and the beginnings of universal history, see e.g. Alonso-Núñez 2003b. See the erroneous remark of Mortley 1996, p. 83, according to which "Diodorus believed that he alone has written a universal history ...".

[65] For the work of Ephorus, see Barber 1993, pp. 22–48; Marincola 2007, pp. 172–174. For its use by Diodorus see, for example, Andrewes 1985, pp. 189–197.

does not refer to his statements, according to which he wrote a universal history. This is rather surprising, since Polybius defines his history as ἡ κοινὴ ἱστορία and αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις, the same terms which Diodorus employs.[66] Nevertheless, Polybius makes more use of the adverb καθόλου, in phrases such as τὰ καθόλου γράφειν, which literally means "to write the affairs in general".[67] Like Diodorus, Polybius announced that he would compose a universal history, in contrast to other authors, who devoted their works to specific wars. *Tyche*, according to Polybius, guides almost all the affairs of the inhabited world in one direction and towards one purpose. The historian has to describe her accomplishments synoptically and to introduce to his readers one general survey.[68] Diodorus, as noted, has a similar opinion concerning the role of the historian—namely, to create one narrative, a common counting-house of past occurrences—but a different way of expressing it. The historian, according to Diodorus, endeavours to join together all mankind in one treatise, just as divine supervision (θεία/δαιμόνια πρόνοια) determines the orderly arrangement of the universe which unites all human beings (I.1.3). One may also find here an allusion to the idea of the unity of mankind (ὁμόνοια) which is presented elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke* (III.64.7, 65.3, XVIII.4.4).

Polybius highlights, apparently even more than Diodorus, the superiority of a universal history over a monograph[69] but, unlike Diodorus, who dedicates part of his general introduction to a discussion of this genre, Polybius settles for short references which appear throughout his work. Nonetheless, these references might point to the latter's observation of the characteristics of a universal history: a) the work should include the history of the whole inhabited world and to record the deeds both of the Greeks and the barbarians; b) the historian should intertwine (συμπλέκειν) the events with each other (the noun συμπλοκή is also in use in order to clarify this need). Polybius, as previously noted, finds a causal relation between the occurrences, claiming that they all strive for one direction and towards one purpose; c) the order of the events and their dates are significant.[70] The similarities between Polybius' criteria

[66] Polyb., IV.28.4, VIII.2.11, XXXIX.8.6; cf. e.g. Diod., I.1.1, 1.3.

[67] Polyb., V.33.1–3, cf. e.g. I.4.2–3, III.32.8, VIII.2.6. For other terms employed by Polybius, see Sacks 1981, pp. 100–101.

[68] Polyb., I.4.1–6; III.32.8; cf. Diod., I.3.2.

[69] Polyb., I.4.2–11, II.37.4, III.32.3–10, VII.7.6, VIII.2.11; Diod., I.3.1–8.

[70] Polyb., II.37.4, III.32.2–3, V.31.6, 33.5 (a); I.4.3, III.32.2, 32.7, IV.28.5, V.31.4 (b); IV.28.2–5, V.31.3–5 (c).

and those of Diodorus are thus quite obvious. The difference lies in the interpretation of each of the authors to the temporal scope and range of subjects that a historical treatise should embrace in order to be called a "universal history".

Polybius concentrates on the years 220–167 BCE, the period in which the Romans conquered almost the entire inhabited world: he states this at the beginning of his work and repeats it in several chapters. According to Polybius, the actions of the Romans during that time made the writing of a universal history possible. As he progressed with his work, he resolved to continue the narrative, ending it with the destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE.[71] Polybius acknowledges the necessity to depict, albeit briefly, the occurrences prior to 220 BCE, such as the First Punic War, the Roman wars against the Illyrians and the Gauls and the events in Greece, to which he devoted his first two books.[72] The year in which Polybius brings his history to an end corresponds with Diodorus' standard that the author of a universal history should recount the affairs of the world until his own days. However, the starting point of Polybius' work does not comply with Diodorus' criterion. Diodorus believed that a universal history should begin with the earliest times and include mythography. Polybius confined his history to his own age. Hence, according to Diodorus' definition, Polybius' treatise cannot be considered a universal history.[73]

The variety of topics discussed in their works is another feature which distinguishes one author from the other. Polybius focuses on political and military issues, as demonstrated by the main question which he poses at the outset: by what means and under what kind of regime had the Romans subjugated almost the entire inhabited world in less than fifty-three years? His answer—by their wars and unique system of government—strengthens this conjecture.[74] Yet Polybius also refers

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[71] 220–167 BCE: Polyb., I.1.5–6, cf. e.g. I.2.7–8, 4.1, II.37.4, III.1.4, VI.2.3, VIII.2.3–6; 146 BCE: III.4.1–5.6, 32.2–3.

[72] Polyb., I.5.1–5, 65.5, II.1.4, 71.2.

[73] See Sacks 1981, pp. 105–121 who recognizes two types of universal history in Polybius: one of quantity, the other of quality. The first type is concerned with the amount of material covered (number of pages for each subject, number of lands related to in the work), while the second focuses on a single unifying theme. Cf. Yarrow 2006, p. 125. Whereas Polybius exemplifies the qualitative approach, Diodorus may illustrate the quantitative method. However, Diodorus does not speak of different types of universal history, but labels some of the universal histories that were written before his as imperfect universal histories.

[74] Polyb., I.1.5, VI.1.1–52.11, 57.1–10 and elsewhere.

to cultural issues and deals with geography. In his discourse of the Roman army and constitution, for instance, he refers to the Roman burial customs and superstitions, comparing some of them to those of the Carthaginians,[75] while introducing numerous geographical passages into his work[76] and devoting his thirty-fourth book entirely to geography.[77] Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to see this as corresponding with Diodorus' statement that the historian should refer to very many and most varied circumstances, πλείστας καὶ ποικιλωτάτας περιστάσεις (I.3.2). Moreover, Polybius' assertions suggest that instead of these two principles—the temporal span and the diversity of subjects—the author recognizes the importance of one defined theme which will hold the work together. It is possible, therefore, that his different view concerning universal history caused Diodorus to wonder whether Polybius' work may be classified as a universal history, consequently choosing not to mention him with Herodotus and Ephorus.[78]

Yet Polybius is not the only author whom Diodorus ignores. Three of Polybius' predecessors—Theopompus of Chios, Hieronymus of Cardia and Timaeus of Tauromenium—are also absent from his list of universal historians, apparently with good reason. Although their works seem to have certain features of the genre, from his point of view they did not write universal histories. If he had dealt with the development of this literary genre, then there was room for them. However, one might

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[75] Polyb., VI.53.1–56.15.

[76] E.g. Polyb., III.36.1–39.12 (with a cross-reference to the geographical book in 37.11), III.57.1–59.8 (in addition to a cross-reference to the geographical book, Polybius mentions his own journeys in 59.6–7); V.21.3–22.4, 59.3–11; X.10.1–11.4; see also Book XII, passim (throughout his censure of Timaeus).

[77] For Polybius' interest in geography and for Book XXXIV, see Pédech 1964, pp. 514–597; Walbank 1972, esp. pp. 23–25, 114–129; Walbank 1979, vol. 3, pp. 563–565; Sacks 1981, p. 132 n.23.

[78] For the nature of Polybius' work and for his notion of universal history, see Bury 1958, pp. 191–223; Pédech 1964, pp. 496–514; Petzold 1977, pp. 253–290; Walbank 1972, passim; Gabba 1981, pp. 51–53; Sacks 1981, pp. 96–121; Alonso-Núñez 1990, pp. 183–191; Sterling 1992, pp. 5–7; Liddel 2010, passim; Hartog 2010, passim. For a comparison between Polybius' concept of universal history and that of Diodorus, see also Mortley 1996, pp. 4–7, and recently Sheridan 2010, pp. 41–55, who argues that while Polybius emphasizes the geographical breadth in universal history, Diodorus highlights the temporal scope. Compared with Polybius, Diodorus indeed stresses the importance of chronological breadth, but he does not "prioritise" it, as Sheridan maintains. In light of my discussion here, Diodorus was just as much concerned with the geographical breadth of his work as he was with its temporal scope. See in this respect Marincola 2007, pp. 171–172, who distinguishes two types of universal history in antiquity: histories universal in time and space (e.g. Diodorus), and histories universal only in space (e.g. Polybius).

well ask why he brought up the names of Herodotus and Ephorus, neither of whom had composed a perfect universal history according to his own definition. While the fact that Ephorus was recognized as the originator of the sub-genre of κοινὴ ἱστορία may explain his appearance in Diodorus' list—Polybius, for instance, points out that he was the first and the only one who had composed a universal history before him[79]—Herodotus' reputation as the creator of the genre of history—it was in Diodorus' days that he was referred to as *pater historiae* by Cicero[80]—does not sufficiently justify his inclusion. Examining Diodorus' remarks regarding the quality of the treatises of Theopompus, Hieronymus and Timaeus, their title and subject matter, and assessing Herodotus' work according to Diodorus' criteria of universal history will shed light on this issue.

One of Theopompus' works concentrates on the Greek affairs, τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις, embracing only seventeen years (XIII.42.5, XIV.84.7), while another concerns Philip, περὶ Φίλιππον (XVI.3.8, 71.3). Diodorus refers to Hieronymus as the writer of the history of the *Diadochi*, τὰς τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίας γεγραφώς (XVIII.42.1, cf. 50.4, XIX.44.3, 100.1), whereas Timaeus composed τὰς ἱστορίας, the histories, with no adjective attached (XVI.7.1, cf. XIII.90.5). Furthermore, Diodorus criticizes Timaeus harshly for the way in which he handled Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, claiming that, because of personal enmity, Timaeus misrepresented Agathocles and wrongly described events in which he had played a part. Diodorus argues that for this reason one must reject Timaeus' last five books (XXI.17.1–3). Elsewhere, having dwelt on one of Timaeus' errors, accusing him of improvising, Diodorus adds that historians should be forgiven for their mistakes, both because they are human beings and because it is hard to uncover the truth of the distant past; however, those who deliberately offer inaccurate information deserve to be censured. Authors who flatter or attack one man or another go astray from the truth (XIII.90.5–7). Even though Diodorus praises Timaeus for his treatment of other issues (XXI.17.1), his criticism probably affected

[79] Polyb., V.33.2.

[80] Cic., *Leg.*, I.2.5. For the problematic date of Cicero's *De Legibus*, see e.g. Keyes 1928, pp. 289–290; Kenter 1971, pp. 1–5. It is assumed that Cicero began writing it while still working on his *De Re Publica* (c. 52 BCE) and that he put off the work when he departed for Cilicia (51 BCE). It is questionable whether he resumed the work in 46 BCE and whether he ever completed it. Yet these difficulties are not relevant for my purpose here; the fact remains that Cicero's reference to Herodotus was made in Diodorus' lifetime.

his decision not to mention his predecessor as an example of a writer of universal history.[81]

The appearance of Herodotus as one of Diodorus' precedents is, as noted, rather surprising; he ought to be mentioned as an example of one whose works were devoted to "complete wars of a single people or a single city-state", as Diodorus puts it (I.3.2), since he concentrated on the war of the Persians and the Greeks. However, tracing Diodorus' criteria in the history of Herodotus might explain why he was considered a pioneer among universal historians. Herodotus recounted the past events of peoples other than the Greeks, discussed their culture and customs, took an interest in geography and dealt both with mythology and the affairs of his own days. Hence Diodorus could deduce that Herodotus' work was wide-ranging regarding time, place and scale of subjects, and that the Persian Wars were a dominant thread which maintained a link between the events. Through Herodotus, Diodorus might have learnt about the idea of the rise and fall of empires: Assyria was conquered by Media; Media was overpowered by the Persians.[82] By the time of Diodorus, Macedon and Rome could be added, yet he does not elaborate on this notion nor does he refer to it where one may expect him to do so as, for instance, at the beginning of Book XVII.[83] Nevertheless, the idea of the rise and fall of empires left its mark throughout the *Bibliotheke* (e.g. II.48.5, XIII.22.1–2, XVII.18.1–2), attesting to Diodorus' awareness of its place in a universal history.[84] It was only in the matter of dates and chronological order that Diodorus censures Herodotus. These facts, in addition to his predecessor's reputation as a historian, may have caused Diodorus to cite Herodotus' work as an earlier model of the genre. This

[81] For the works of Theopompus, Hieronymus and Timaeus, see Alonso-Núñez 1990, pp. 177–183. For Theopompus: von Fritz 1941, pp. 765–787; Bruce 1970, pp. 86–109; Westlake 1969, pp. 226–250; Marincola 2007, pp. 174–176. For Hieronymus: Hornblower 1981. For Timaeus: Brown 1958; Pearson 1987.

[82] Hdt., I.95, 130; Diod., II.32.2–3. For the idea in Herodotus, see e.g. Alonso-Núñez 2003b, pp. 151–152.

[83] See Atkinson 2000, p. 313.

[84] Expressions of the idea, in universal histories as well as other genres, may be found in Polyb., I.2.1–6, XXIX.21.2–6; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I.2.2–3.5; Vell. Pat., I.6.6 (Aemilius Sura); Iust., I.1.4–8, 3.6, 6.16–17, X.3.7, XI.14.6–7, 15.2, XLI.1.1, XLIII.3.2 etc. (Pompeius Trogus). See also Ovid., *Met.*, XV.420–435. For discussions see, among others, Trieber 1892, pp. 321–344; Swain 1940, pp. 1–21; Goez 1958, pp. 17–36; Eddy 1961, pp. 15–36; Flusser 1972, pp. 148–175; Trompf 1979, pp. 75–84; Mendels 1981, pp. 330–337; Alonso-Núñez 1983, pp. 411–426; Alonso-Núñez 1984a, pp. 640–644; Alonso-Núñez 1984b, pp. 53–54; Alonso-Núñez 1987, pp. 62–65; Momigliano 1984, pp. 85–98; Atkinson 2000, pp. 308–314; Alonso-Núñez 2003a, pp. 175–182.

model inspired Diodorus, but he altered and improved it to accord with his own perception of universal history.

Had Diodorus lived to see the historical treatises of Nicolaus of Damascus and Pompeius Trogus, he would have probably given them his stamp of approval as "universal histories".[85] Both works were written during the Augustan age, one in the East, the other in the West, in Greek and Latin respectively. Both Nicolaus and Trogus recount the history of the inhabited world, commencing with the reign of Ninus in Assyria and ending in the time of Augustus. They deal with eastern affairs first, continue with Greek history and then discuss the Hellenistic and Roman epoch until they reach their own days. Yet there is a major difference between the two: while Nicolaus wrote 144 books, Trogus' work included only 44. Nicolaus highlights the enormous effort in writing a gigantic history and, like Diodorus, he compares it to the deeds of Heracles. Justin's introduction to his epitome of Trogus attests to the universal character of the latter's work. Justin argues that while most authors record the history of single kings or peoples (*singulorum regum vel populorum res gestas*), Pompeius endeavoured to write the history of the world (*orbem terrarum*), hence showing Heraclean audacity (*Herculea audacia*). His books, according to Justin, comprised the records of all periods, kings, tribes and peoples (*omnium saeculorum, regum, nationum populorumque res gestae*). Furthermore, unlike Greek historians who omitted information which had no relevance to their main interest, Pompeius joined all the material together, maintaining a chronological order and pursuing a subject from beginning to end.[86]

Evidently, there are explicit similarities between Diodorus' perception of universal history and those of Nicolaus and Trogus. Their histories resemble each other not only in their structure, but also in their spatial and temporal scope. In addition, all three authors lay emphasis on the sequence of the events.[87] Is it not possible that Nicolaus and Trogus

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[85] Neither work survived in its entirety. For the fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus, see *FGrH*, IIA, 90 FF 1–143. For the *prologi* of Trogus and the epitome of Justin, see Ieep 1885; Seel 1972. Timagenes of Alexandria is also worth mentioning. He had come to Rome in 55 BCE and composed a history of kings which was used by Trogus. See *FGrH*, IIA, 88 FF 1–15.

[86] Nicolaus: *FGrH*, IIA, 90 F 135; Pompeius Trogus: Iust., *Praef.* 2–3, cf. Diod., I.3.2.

[87] See Alonso-Núñez 1987, pp. 56–58 and also Drews 1965, pp. 134–135, 137, comparing Diodorus, Nicolaus and Trogus regarding their treatment of Assyrian history, and Atkinson 2000, pp. 307, 317–318, 324, concerning Alexander. For the universal history of Nicolaus, see also Alonso-Núñez 1995, pp. 3–15; for both Nicolaus and Trogus, see Yarrow 2006, pp. 145–152, 156–161.

had seen Diodorus' work or, at least, had heard about it? Is it only a coincidence (or mere philosophical influence) that all three mentioned Heracles as an attempt to demonstrate the magnitude of the task which they took upon themselves? The Greek-speaking Nicolaus, for instance, visited Rome on three occasions in about 14 BCE to 6 CE. Is it not likely that he, as an educated man and a historian in Herod's court, spent some time examining newly-published books both in order to learn and to prepare for the writing of his own history? I am not suggesting that Nicolaus used Diodorus as a source, but it is quite probable that he was impressed (possibly even inspired) by the organization of the *Bibliotheke* and by the author's approach to universal history.

The genre became highly fashionable by the end of the first century BCE. Its features may be traced in a work of a different discipline, the *Geography* of Strabo. This work mingles geography with history, explores the lands of the entire inhabited world and refers to the distant and the near past as well as to his own days.[88] Assuming that the genre of universal history went through a gradual development from the time of Herodotus to the first century BCE, a development which had been affected by the changes in human life, much progress was made due to Diodorus' work. Being the first to discuss universal history methodically, with its characteristics and advantages, Diodorus defined the precise criteria and determined that a universal history should embrace the myths as well as the events of the time, and include all the lands of the inhabited world. However, supposing that there were various types of universal histories, the type represented by Polybius, for instance, as opposed to that of Diodorus, then the latter was a pioneer. He preceded Nicolaus and Trogus (and Strabo, one might add), who emphasized the chronological and geographical scope, two of Diodorus' most important features of universal history.

Yet modern scholars, dealing with the genre and its significance,[89] tend to underestimate the contribution of Diodorus. Bury's argument may well illustrate this tendency: "Diodorus ... was quite unequal to

[88] See Alonso-Núñez 1984b, pp. 53–54; Alonso-Núñez 1987, p. 56; Clarke 1999a, pp. 193–336; Dueck 2000, passim; and also Engels 2010, pp. 71–86, discussing the fragments of Strabo's lost historical work.

[89] For studies treating universal history see, in addition to the above mentioned, Breebaart 1966; Burde 1974; Fornara 1983, pp. 42–46; Momigliano 1984, pp. 77–103; Rawson 1985, pp. 223–224; Vidal-Naquet 1991, pp. vii–xxx; Mortley 1996; Corsaro 1998, pp. 405–436; Alonso-Núñez 2002; Yarrow 2006, pp. 124–166; Green 2006, pp. 13–23; Liddel, Fear 2010. See also the interesting discussion of Wheeler 2002, dealing

the task. There is no central idea in his work; there is no grasp of lines of development, no discernment of interconnexion between the parts of his subject, no independent thought of his own."[90] Questions such as whether Diodorus had the abilities to compose a universal history or whether he expressed his own independent thoughts will be best dealt with at the end of the present study. As for the claim that there is no main theme in the *Bibliotheke*, this is not completely true, although this is not one of the main criteria of a universal history according to Diodorus. The idea that an individual gains a certain honour due to the benefactions which he has conferred upon mankind is found, as previously noted, throughout the work. Gods, heroes, kings, leaders and even historians do good deeds for humanity and attain a reward; this reward may be immortality, honours equal to those of gods or simply a token of gratitude, according to the status of the benefactor.

It is not only with regard to the genre that scholars are apt to dismiss Diodorus' contribution to the art of history writing. Some say that his treatise is a mere compilation; others maintain that his forte lies in preserving lost works yet censure him for his absolute dependence upon his sources.[91] Nonetheless, over the years suggestions that Diodorus did

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with Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and universal history (esp. pp. 166–167 for a comparison with Diodorus), and Ameling 2008, who argues that Agatharchides of Cnidus (one of Diodorus' sources for Books I and III) composed a universal history, aiming to begin with the earliest stages; but, using his ethnographical knowledge, he replaced the mythical stories—which he believed to be untrustworthy—with "the origins of civilization and the development of mankind from an almost animal-like status to the heights of political structures" (esp. pp. 33–47). Universal history continues to be a genre written and discussed through the ages to our own days. See, for example, Vogt 1961; Aron 1961; Barraclough 1962, pp. 83–109; Heuss 1968; Butterfield 1969, pp. 44–50; Barraclough 1979, pp. 153–163; Momigliano 1986; Aune 1987, pp. 88–89. The recent concern with 'global history' brought about further discussion of universal history, as scholars made an attempt to distinguish between 'universal history', 'world history' and 'global history', though admitting that these terms overlapped in some respects (see e.g. Mazlish 1993, pp. 1–24; Kossok 1993, pp. 93–111; Hopkins 2002, pp. 12–44; Hopkins 2006, pp. 1–38; Crossley 2008, passim).

[90] Bury 1958, pp. 235–240 esp. 236. Almost the same words may be found in Drews 1960, pp. 1–2: "he (i.e. Diodorus) was unequal to the task". See also Marincola 1997, pp. 241–244.

[91] E.g. Schwartz 1903, cols. 663–704; Palm 1955, p. 64; Sinclair 1963, pp. 36–45; Westlake 1969, p. 241; Hammond, Scullard 1970, s.v. Diodorus Siculus; Meister 1973/1974; Biziere 1975, p. IX; Hornblower 1981, p. 28; Canfora 1990; Barber 1993, pp. 21–22; Stylianou 1998, pp. 49–84. The number of studies dealing with Diodorus' sources and the way in which he preserved or damaged them attests, in itself, to a narrow-minded approach to the research of Diodorus' history. In addition to the studies mentioned above

show a degree of originality and wrote an independent work have begun to appear.[92] It is my belief that in setting aside the view that Diodorus did no more than rewriting his sources, one may be able to discover in the *Bibliotheke* another level, one which reflects Diodorus' own ideas and innovations. The genre which has been discussed here provides a good example. Moreover, his information regarding universal history helps to shed light on the nature of this type of history writing.

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and in the following note, see Hammond 1937, pp. 79–91; Hammond 1938, pp. 137–151; Vlastos 1946, pp. 51–59; Laqueur 1958, pp. 257–290; Simpson 1959, pp. 370–379; Drews 1962, pp. 383–392; Pearson 1984, pp. 1–20.

[92] E.g. Spoerri 1959, passim; Reid [Rubincam] 1969, pp. 100–101; Rubincam 1987, pp. 313–328; Chamoux 1989a, pp. xxii–xxiii; Chamoux 1989b, pp. 8–10; Chamoux 1990, pp. 243–252 (see also her introduction in Chamoux, Bertrac, Vernière 1993, pp. xviii–xxxii); Sacks 1990, pp. 3–7 and passim; Sacks 1994, pp. 213–232; Hornblower, Spawforth 1996, s.v. Diodorus Siculus; Green 2006, pp. 1–34; Yarrow 2006, pp. 116–118, 152–156; Clarke 2008, pp. 121–139. See further above, Introduction, pp. 3–6.

CHAPTER TWO

THE USE OF SOURCES: DIODORUS' PREDECESSORS AND HIS OWN CONTRIBUTION

In writing his *Bibliotheke* Diodorus employed a large variety of sources. Nonetheless, and in spite of his method of citation,[1] his main source for a particular topic can be identified in most cases.[2] Again, the first five books, which were preserved in their entirety, provide a good example. Diodorus read Hecataeus of Abdera for the stories of Osiris and Sesostris; the tale of Semiramis is based on Ctesias of Cnidus' version; Dionysius Scytobrachion is the source for both the legends of Miryna and Dionysus; whereas Matris of Thebes is Diodorus' chief authority for the account of Heracles. Yet Diodorus did not restrict himself to one source. In fact, it is quite obvious that he had no intention of producing an exact copy of his sources. Rather, inserting additional information (which he found in other authorities or heard/saw himself) and expressing his own thoughts and ideas, he altered and adapted them. The aim of this chapter is to reveal both levels of the *Bibliotheke*. One is based on the compositions of earlier authors, reflecting their opinions and *Zeitgeist*; the other demonstrates Diodorus' own work, his beliefs and the influence of contemporary events.

The first level evidently needs less discussion. Diodorus, to begin with, states explicitly the identity of his sources in certain portions of the work thus making the *Quellenforschung* of those parts easier. However, since he generally settles for verbs such as φασί and λέγουσι to indicate source-citations,[3] much work has been done to reveal his authorities. In consequence, the studies relating to the *Quellenforschung* of Diodorus are numerous and Diodorus' reliance on his sources has been well established.[4] Yet it may be helpful to examine Diodorus' use

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[1] See Sulimani 2008.
[2] Schwartz 1903, cols. 663–704.
[3] See Sulimani 2008.
[4] See, for example, Schwartz 1903, cols. 663–704. It is, of course, useful to look at Jacoby's *FGrH*. See, for example, *FGrH*, IA, 32 FF 7–8 for Diodorus' use of Dionysius Scytobrachion; *FGrH*, IA, 63 FF 2–3 for Euhemerus; *FGrH*, IIC, 87 FF 116–119 for

of sources from a different angle. Reading the descriptions of the voyages of gods and heroes in Books I–V reveals certain motifs which are voiced throughout, regardless of the author whose writings Diodorus employs. In some cases the similarities occur not merely in the idea itself, but in Diodorus' wording. One gets the impression that certain formulae appear throughout the first five books and beyond, as they can be traced even in the rest of the *Bibliotheke*. At the same time, we can detect motifs which are to be found in the tale of one hero but not in any of the other stories or any other part of the *Bibliotheke*. These motifs seem to be unique to Diodorus' sources and therefore uncover the first level of his work, whereas notions widespread in the *Bibliotheke* prove that Diodorus did not settle for compositions made by other authors. A survey of these two kinds of motifs will illustrate the dual nature of the *Bibliotheke* and will further strengthen the view according to which Diodorus did not simply reproduce his sources.

For the discussion of the first level I have chosen to examine here several motifs which, in my opinion, characterize well Diodorus' authorities. Let us begin with cannibalism. In the first book Diodorus relates twice to this practice. In I.14.1 he says that Osiris was the first "to make an end of human custom to eat each other", παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας. After Isis had discovered the wheat and the barley and Osiris had devised the cultivation of both fruits, all men were delighted to change their food, both because of the pleasing nature of the grains and because it seemed a better way to refrain from their slaughter of one another. In I.84.1 dealing with animals sacred to the Egyptians, Diodorus states that once, when the people of Egypt were suffering from a famine, many of them laid hands upon their fellows. This time the term ἀλληλοφαγία is missing; in fact, we find it only once in the *Bibliotheke*. Moreover, the material for both chapters in which Diodorus mentions cannibalism is believed to have been drawn on Hecataeus of Abdera.[5] When Diodorus relates to the discovery of the wheat and the barley in other sections of his work, he does not as much as hint at the old practice, though one might expect him to do so. In V.69.1–3, for example, he records a dispute over the discovery of the corn. Many peoples, he says, claim that they were the first to receive the knowledge of the nature and the use of the corn. He presents three versions, one of

Posidonius; *FGrH*, IIIA, 264 F 25 for Hecataeus of Abdera; *FGrH*, IIIC, 688 F 5 for Ctesias of Cnidus; and *FGrH*, IIIC, 715 F 4 for Megasthenes. Other studies: Drews 1962, pp. 383–392; Reid [Rubincam] 1969; Sacks 1990, passim; Sacks 1994, pp. 213–232.

[5] *FGrH*, IIIA, 264 F 25.

which is the Egyptian, according to which Demeter and Isis are one and the same goddess, who was the first to bring the grain to Egypt. Yet, here, Diodorus does not say a single word about cannibalism. The other two versions are the Sicilian and the Athenian, which Diodorus has already mentioned in V.2.4–5 (the Sicilians were the first to be given the wheat because of the fertility of their land) and V.4.3–7 (the Athenians were the first after the Sicilians). Again, though he dwells on the subject, he does not refer to cannibalism.[6]

A second motif, which is found only in Book I, concerns marriage between brother and sister in Egypt. Diodorus' handling of this incest theme is of special interest for us, since it reflects both tendencies of the author: reliance on one source for a particular topic on the one hand, and interpolation of new material in the narrative of his source, on the other. Diodorus writes that the Egyptians enacted a law permitting men to marry their sisters, due to the successful marriage of Osiris and Isis. On the same occasion he records the inscription on the stele of Isis, which includes the phrase "I am the wife and sister of King Osiris", ἐγώ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὀσίριδος βασιλέως (I.27.1–6). Now, Diodorus refers to this twofold relationship between Isis and Osiris in I.13.4–5 and I.21.3–8. In the first instance it is only implied; stating that these two gods were born either to Cronus and Rhea or to Zeus and Hera, Diodorus says that Osiris married Isis. In the second Diodorus is more implicit, saying that Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, τὴν ... Ἶσιν ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ὀσίριδος καὶ γυναῖκα, avenged his assassination. Nonetheless, the law regarding consanguineous marriage is not mentioned. There is no reason to doubt that Hecataeus is responsible for the repeated references to Osiris and Isis as brother and sister as well as man and wife.[7] The mention of the law, however, is a different matter.

Consanguineous marriage existed in pharaonic Egypt among the members of the royal family. By the time of the Ptolemies it had also become widespread among the common people; it was further extended under Roman rule, when an increase in the marriage of full brothers and sisters can also be detected.[8] One may assume, therefore, that the

[6] Cf. II.36.3–4, where Demeter and the wheat are mentioned in connection with India.

[7] In I.22.1–2 and I.88.4 it is only said that they were husband and wife.

[8] For the evidence and for discussion, see Taubenschlag 1944, pp. 34, 83–84; Cěrný 1954, pp. 23–29; Bell 1949, pp. 83–92; Hopkins 1980, pp. 303–354; Lewis 1983, pp. 43–44; Burton 1972, pp. 111–112; Bagnall, Frier 1994, chap. 6. See also Thompson 1955, A1552–1552.3, T415.5.

enactment of the law permitting consanguineous marriage took place after Hecataeus' time, possibly in Diodorus' own time. This assumption gains support from Philo of Alexandria (30 BCE – 45 CE), who attests to an Egyptian law permitting the marriage of a man to a woman who is his sister either from one or both parents (*De Specialibus Legibus*, III.23–24). Diodorus, then, may have inserted new information into the narrative of Hecataeus at the very moment that he had read and used it; yet he does not mention brother-sister marriage again in his work. He could have referred to it also in IV.6.3, for instance, where he recounts Isis' handling of her husband's death, basing his account on an authority other than Hecataeus. In fact, it is rather surprising that Diodorus does not repeat this exceptional custom anywhere else in his work since, as we shall see, he is accustomed to reflect contemporary events and developments.

Hecataeus of Abdera, in addition, may be the author to whom we should ascribe features which recall Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in the stories of both Osiris and Sesostris. Flavius Josephus says that Hecataeus was associated with Ptolemy. He also quotes Hecataeus' statement according to which many men, hearing of Ptolemy's kindness and humanity (φιλανθρωπία), wished to join him (*Ap.*, I.183, 186). Although Diodorus underlines such virtues (above all clemency and humanity which he expresses either with ἐπιείκεια or φιλανθρωπία which are discussed below), ascribing them to various figures, it is probable that Hecataeus' high-regard of Ptolemy inspired the description of Osiris as unwarlike (I.18.5) and of Sesostris as kind and merciful (I.54.2, 55.10).[9] Further proof may be found in a section of the *Bibliotheke* which is based on Hieronymus of Cardia, where Ptolemy is depicted as kind and forgiving (ἐπιεικής) (XVIII.28.5–6, 33.3–4, XIX.86.2–4). Since it is unlikely that Hieronymus went as far as praising Ptolemy to such a degree, we may assume[10] that Hecataeus' influence and Diodorus' personal interest in Egypt led to this encomium of the first of the Ptolemies. Hecataeus' acquaintance with Ptolemy might have also caused him to attribute to Sesostris the division of the land of Egypt into *nomes* (I.54.3) as well

[9] It is interesting to note that Diodorus employs the words ἐπιείκεια and ἐπιεικῶς in the case of Sesostris, and not φιλανθρωπία, as does Hecataeus. He might have changed Hecataeus' wording to suit his own notion of rulers acting with moderation which I will discuss later.

[10] With Hornblower 1981, pp. 55–56, who suggests that Hieronymus intentionally refrained from praising "the founder of the dynasty most consistently hostile to the Antigonids". For Hieronymus, see *FGrH*, IIB, 154 F 25.

as certain military reforms which resembled those of the son of Lagus (I.54.4–6, 55.2, 94.4).[11]

Another motif that seems to be typical of Diodorus' source is found in the legend of Semiramis. Diodorus states that the Assyrian queen was fond of costly things (she built expensive palaces, for example, and created great parks) and enjoyed every device which contributed to luxury (II.8.3–7, 13.3–4, 16.4–5). Indeed, this theme (with the same Greek word, namely τρυφή) appears in other parts of the *Bibliotheke*[12] but two factors reinforce the conjecture that we should ascribe it to Ctesias of Cnidus, Diodorus' main authority for the story of Semiramis. First, although a love of luxury and an extravagant way of life are not exclusive to the chapters drawn on Ctesias, they are nowhere as frequent in relation to one nation as in the case of Assyria (to the above references we can add II.21.2, 21.7, 23.1–3, 24.4). Secondly, Photius, who also used Ctesias' writings, says that the latter described the treasures of India, including pearls and other precious stones (codex 72, 45a) and a fountain which is filled each year with liquid gold and has iron in its bottom (codex 72, 45b). This corresponds remarkably with Diodorus' assertion that Semiramis planned a campaign against India, hearing of its great quantities of precious stones, gold and silver, iron and copper, as well as other resources which contribute to luxury and wealth (II.16.4). It is worth noting that both Diodorus (II.16.4) and Photius (codex 72, 45a) emphasized the existence of elephants in India, which they obviously regarded as one of its treasures.

Further, Semiramis engaged herself in building walls, palaces, temples and other constructions. More than once Diodorus relates to the material that she used: baked bricks and bitumen (II.7.4, 8.4, 8.7, 9.1, 9.2, 10.5). Bitumen, he adds, was a significant natural resource of Babylonia and was in use not only for building, but as a form of fuel instead of wood (II.12.1). Bitumen is mentioned in two other places in the mythological section of the *Bibliotheke* (II.48.6–8; III.47.3), and in the historical books, where Diodorus also dwells on the properties of this material and the means

[11] Again, it is possible that Diodorus interpolates information of his own: he writes that Egypt was divided into 36 parts, which seems to be the number of *nomes* in his own day. The number of *nomes* varied from time to time. In Herodotus we find 18 (II.164–166); Artapanus says 36 (Euseb., *Praep. Evang.*, IX.27.4); according to Strabo there were 36 (XVII.1.3 C 787); and Pliny the Elder recounts 47 (*HN*, V.9). See Lloyd 1993, vol. 3, p. 188; Burton 1972, pp. 167–168.

[12] I.45.1–2, 63.1; III.42.2, 64.6; IV.20.1; V.10.3, 19.2, 19.4, 40.3, 40.5, 46.2; XI.44.5, 46.2–3, 57.6; XIV.80.2; XVII.35.4–5, 52.4–5, 54.6, 77.4, 108.4–6; XIX.49.4.

to exploit it (XVII.115.1; XIX.98.1–100.2). Nevertheless, the frequent repetition in the chapters dealing with Semiramis suggests that Ctesias might be the source. This assumption gains support from a citation of Ctesias by another author, the anonymous writer of *Tractatus De Mulieribus Claris In Bello*. In the first chapter of his work he presents the legend of Semiramis "as Ctesias says", ὥς φησι Κτησίας, stating that the queen fortified Babylon with baked brick and bitumen.[13] He also tells of a temple which she built for Belus, a temple that Diodorus refers to as well (II.9.4).

To Dionysius Scytobrachion we should assign Diodorus' presentation of Myrina as the queen of the Amazons who dwelt around Lake Tritonis, commanded an army and was killed in the battle-field (III.53.4, 54.1–3, 55.11). A comparison with Pausanias' description of the Gorgon Medusa reveals the same features: she reigned over the peoples living around Lake Tritonis, led an army of the Libyans to battle and was assassinated during a campaign against Perseus (II.21.5). Like Diodorus, Pausanias relied upon Dionysius Scytobrachion for his account.[14] Diodorus relates briefly to Medusa; his details, however, are similar to those of Pausanias: she was queen of the Gorgons and was defeated by Perseus (III.53.3).

An additional feature recurring in Diodorus' account of Myrina and the Amazons is his stress on islands. The Amazons inhabited an island named Hespera in Lake Tritonis. This island was of great size and supplied its residents with fruit of every kind and a multitude of goats and sheep from which they got milk and meat (III.53.4–5). While on her journey on the west coast of Asia Minor, Myrina captured "some islands, and Lesbos in particular", τῶν νήσων τινάς, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Λέσβον. On Lesbos she founded a city which was named Mitylene after her sister (III.55.7). The seizure of the islands is mentioned again, as Diodorus continues the description of Myrina's voyage. After that, he writes, while subduing some of the other islands, τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τινάς, she was caught in a storm. This storm brought the Amazon queen to another island, this time to an uninhabited one. She gave it the name of Samothrace and made it sacred to Cybele, the Mother of the Gods. The Goddess settled a certain people in this island, established the mysteries and decreed that the sacred area should enjoy the right of sanctuary (III.55.8–9).

[13] For text and discussion, see Gera 1997, pp. 6, 65–83.
[14] Rusten 1982, pp. 122–129.

The emphasis on islands, Lesbos in particular, points to Dionysius Scytobrachion, who was a native of Mitylene, as the source. There is yet another issue to support this supposition. The depiction of Hespera in Lake Tritonis resembles that of Euhemerus' Panchaea, which is also preserved by Diodorus. In both islands, for instance, there was an impressive variety of fruit-bearing trees which provided the natives with their food (III.53.5; V.43.1–3). Scytobrachion was obviously influenced by Euhemerus, as one can see in another passage of Diodorus; again, based on the narrative of Scytobrachion, Diodorus describes a certain island which is surrounded by the River Triton and has fruit-bearing trees, fresh air and other features that contribute to the health of the inhabitants (III.68.4–69.4).[15] This confirms the assumption that Scytobrachion used Euhemerus,[16] thus strengthening the conjecture that the writings of Scytobrachion were employed by Diodorus for his version of Myrina. The latter, himself a native of an island, did not mind the focus on islands nor on their qualities.

The last motif that I shall discuss underlines, perhaps in the best possible way, the two levels of the *Bibliotheke*. Using Scytobrachion, Diodorus states, as mentioned above, that Cybele introduced (καταδεῖξαι) the mysteries (τὰ μυστήρια) performed (συντελούμενα) in the island of Samothrace (III.55.9). In two other places, based on Scytobrachion, Diodorus expresses the same idea, according to which heroes and gods established their own cult, employing at the same time similar wording. Dionysus introduced (καταδεῖξαι) his rites (τὰς τελετάς) and his mysteries (τὰ μυστήρια) (III.65.2), while in another version of the story of this god he is said to have introduced (καταδεῖξαι) the rites (τὰς τελετάς) (III.74.1). This theme appears in a somewhat different fashion in IV.24.1–2, where Diodorus recounts the tale of Heracles according to Matris of Thebes. The hero, anticipating his own immortality, accepted honours such as festivals and sacrifices.

The notion obviously belongs to Diodorus' sources, since he himself thought that a hero received divine honours from the hands of human beings in appreciation for his benefactions. But before addressing this view, which appears repeatedly throughout the *Bibliotheke*, thus

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[15] This utopian motif appears already in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (110–120). In his description of the "Golden Age" the poet states that mortal men had all good things, abundance of fruit and lands rich in flocks. Diodorus, it is worth noting, also mentions flocks and herds (III.53.5).

[16] Rusten 1982, pp. 88, 102–112; Diskin, Purvis 1999, pp. 176–179.

illustrating the second level of the work, there is yet further proof in support of the view that the above theme is not one of Diodorus' creations. Using Megasthenes, Diodorus says that Dionysus, who taught the Indians the storing of fruit, shared with them the discovery of wine, instructed them to revere the deity and conferred upon them other benefactions, was regarded as a god and "received immortal honours", τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν (II.38.5). Employing the same author and relating to Dionysus' deeds for the benefit of the Indians, Arrian adds that he also taught them to respect various gods, especially himself (VIII.7.8). It is likely that while Arrian preserved Megasthenes' exact version, Diodorus altered it, inserting a formula of his own.[17] Furthermore, citing Euhemerus, Lactantius maintains that Jupiter, having carried out several deeds for the advantage of mankind, established his own cult (*Div. Inst.*, I.11.45–46, 22.21–25).[18] Diodorus, on the other hand, drawing on the same author, says that Zeus was proclaimed a god by the peoples that he had visited (VI.1.10).

As mentioned earlier, certain motifs that can be traced in various parts of the *Bibliotheke*, regardless of the author whose writings were used, are clear indications of Diodorus' independent work. The idea that conferring benefits upon mankind will bestow upon the benefactor immortal honours or honours equal to those of the gods is one of the utmost significance in this respect. As the resemblance occurs in the idea itself as well as in Diodorus' wording, we ought to examine both aspects. According to Diodorus, Osiris assumed that if he made human beings put an end to their savagery and adopt a civilized way of life he would gain immortal honours due to the magnitude of his benefactions (I.17.2). Indeed, he was thought of as a god because of his benefactions (I.18.5, 20.5; IV.1.7). Semiramis, having accomplished feats such as bringing the purest water into the city of Ecbatana (II.13.6–8), was informed by the oracle of Ammon that on her departure from the face of the earth she would receive eternal honour from certain peoples of Asia (II.14.3). Since Dionysus was responsible for many good deeds, he was regarded as a god and received immortal honours (II.38.5; III.64.2). Like Osiris, Dionysus hoped that because of the magnitude of his benefactions he would be accorded immortal honours (III.70.8; cf. IV.3.5). Like Semiramis, however, he was told by the oracle of Ammon that he would gain immortal-

[17] As already observed by Sacks 1990, p. 72.
[18] See *FGrH*, IA, 63 FF 23–24.

ity if he acted as benefactor to human beings (III.73.3).[19] The motif, it appears, can be found in each of the versions which Diodorus presents for the myth of Dionysus. Heracles performed his labours and sought to bring benefits to mankind, hoping to win immortality (I.2.4; III.30.4). His wishes were fulfilled (I.24.7; III.9.1; IV.8.5, 53.7; V.64.6, 76.1).

Diodorus, then, expressed the same idea in the stories of various heroes. The above examples reveal similar features: gods were previously human; a man can become immortal on account of his benefactions; a hero sets his mind on gaining divine honours and thus calculates his actions accordingly; a hero goes through hardships in order to gain immortality. We need to examine now whether there are similarities in Diodorus' language, as well as in his choice of words and syntax. In the manner in which Diodorus describes the notion that a benefactor's gift to humanity leads to divine election one may find four constituents: (a) the reason for granting immortality or divine honours; (b) the recipients of the benefactions; (c) winning the aforesaid honours; (d) the identity of those who bestowed the honours. It may be useful to examine Diodorus' phrasing with respect to each constituent.

The main reason for bestowing divine honours is, evidently, benefaction. Diodorus employs the noun εὐεργεσία or the verb εὐεργετεῖν. The noun with preposition preceding it appears in Books I (Osiris and Heracles), III (Dionysus and Heracles), IV (Osiris) and V (Heracles):

διὰ	κοινὴν	εὐεργεσίαν	(I.13.1)
διὰ	τὸ μέγεθος	τῆς εὐεργεσίας	(I.17.2; III.64.2; similar: I.20.5)
διὰ	ταύτην	τὴν εὐεργεσίαν	(IV.1.7)
διὰ		τὰς εὐεργεσίας	(I.18.5; V.76.1; similar: I.24.7; III.9.1)
πρὸς		εὐεργεσίαν	(I.13.5)

In Book IV (Dionysus and Heracles) the noun is found with no preposition, as μεγίστας εὐεργεσίας in IV.1.6 (cf. IV.3.5, 8.5).

The verb εὐεργετεῖν appears generally in the participle form. It is found in Book I (Heracles), III (Dionysus) and IV (Dionysus and Heracles):

[19] See Dalley 2005, pp. 18–19, who argues that it is no mark of Hellenism when Diodorus states that Semiramis became a goddess (II.20.1–2), since rulers who lived in the distant past were considered as divine in the Near East long before the arrival of Hellenism. However, as this study shows, there are additional elements in Diodorus' version of the Assyrian queen's deification which make it partly "Hellenistic". For the alterations and reinterpretations of Semiramis' story from antiquity to the twentieth century, see recently Asher-Greve 2006, pp. 324–359.

εὐεργετήσας	(I.2.4)	εὐεργετήσαντες	(IV.15.1)
εὐεργετῶν	(III.73.3)	εὐεργετοῦντα	(IV.53.7)

Only once, in the story of Heracles, does Diodorus use the verb in the infinitive: εὐηργετῆσθαι (III.9.2).

There are, however, other reasons for which a culture-hero becomes immortal. Occasionally a reason is mentioned only once[20] and in most cases Diodorus simply describes the specific act by which the hero gained his honours. Yet, although there is a great variety, one may still be able to recognize certain recurring features. The words πόνος and ἔργον, for instance, appear in the tales of Heracles and Dionysus, although with different adjectives (πόνος: I.2.4; IV.8.5; ἔργον: II.38.5; IV.8.1, 5). So does the adjective ἀγαθός in the neutral form and without a noun, meaning "good things" (IV.3.5; V.64.6). Heracles' ἀρετή is mentioned twice, in different books, as the grounds for granting him divine honours (III.9.1; IV.8.5),[21] while Osiris and again Heracles received such honours for civilizing humanity (I.17.2: ἥμερος; IV.8.5: ἐξημεροῦν).

For a description of the recipients of the benefactions Diodorus usually employs the word ἄνθρωπος in the plural form:

ἀνθρώπων	(I.13.1)
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους	(I.17.2; III.73.3; similar: III.9.1)
τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων	(I.2.4; IV.53.7; similar: III.9.2, 70.8: IV.1.6; V.64.6)

The noun βίος appears in the stories of Osiris and Dionysus:

τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου	(I.13.1)
τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων	(IV.15.1)

whereas the adjective πᾶς is found in the tales of Osiris, Dionysus and Heracles:

παντὸς ἔθνους	(I.18.5)
πᾶσι	(III.63.4)
πᾶσι … ἀνθρώποις	(V.76.1)

[20] E.g. the wisdom of Osiris (I.13.1); ἀνδρεία and the command abilities of Heracles (IV.53.7); the special contribution of Osiris (I.13.1, 17.2), Dionysus (III.63.4) and Heracles (V.76.1).

[21] It is rather interesting that Diodorus assigns the ἀρετή to Heracles. Dio, XLVII.49.2 cites the last words of Brutus, Caesar's assassin, which are the words of Heracles in a lost tragedy: "O wretched Valour (ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή), thou wert but a name, and yet I worshipped thee as real indeed; but now, it seems, thou wert but Fortune's slave." The translation is that of Cary 1917, vol. 5, p. 217. For the fragment, see Nauck 1964, no. 374 p. 910. This may be a further proof that it was the Roman world which inspired Diodorus.

Winning divine honours, that is the deification of the benefactor itself, marks in particular Diodorus' uniqueness in conveying the notion under discussion.[22] His regular formula consists of the verb τυγχάνειν and the noun ἀθανασία, or of the same verb and the noun τιμή accompanied with the adjective ἀθάνατος:

τύχῃ τῆς ἀθανασίας	(I.2.4; similar: I.13.1; III.73.3)
τιμῶν ἀθανάτων τεύξεται	(I.17.2; similar: I.22.2; II.38.5; III.9.1, 70.8; V.64.6)
ἀθανάτου τεύξεσθαι τιμῆς	(II.14.3; similar: II.39.4; III.63.4; V.76.1)

Indeed, at times, Diodorus uses different wording, yet we can detect similarities:

τυχεῖν ἰσοθέου τιμῆς	(I.24.7)
ἀπονεῖμαι τιμὰς ἰσοθέους	(III.64.2)
ἀπονειμάτων τὴν ἀθανασίαν	(III.64.2)
συμπεφωνημένην λαβεῖν τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὴν ἴσην τοῖς οὐρανίοις τιμήν	(I.20.5)
τυχεῖν συμφωνουμένης ἀθανασίας	(IV.1.7, 53.7)

and also:

ὡς θεὸν ἀποδεχομένου	(I.18.5)
γενόμενον θεὸν νομισθῆναι	(II.38.5)

In three other places Diodorus' phrasing varies, nonetheless the noun ἀθανασία is still present (III.73.8; IV.8.1, 5).

The identity of the donors of divine honours is not always referred to. However, when Diodorus does mention it, the nouns ἔθνος and ἄνθρωπος, the verb πάσχειν and the preposition παρά reappear. It is worth noting that these words are found in the tales of various heroes (ἔθνος: Osiris and Semiramis; πάσχειν: Dionysus; ἄνθρωπος: Dionysus and Heracles):

παντὸς ἔθνους	(I.18.5)
παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν ἐθνῶν	(II.14.3)
παρὰ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν	(III.63.4)
τοὺς εὖ παθόντας	(III.64.2)
παρ' ἀντρώποις	(IV.3.5; V.76.1)

A completely different wording appears once, in the story of Heracles:

τοὺς … προγόνους (IV.18.5)

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22 As Sacks 1990, pp. 71, 182 and n. 99, already noticed.

So far we have seen that the notion of performing benefactions for the common good and the consequent divine honours appears frequently in the mythological section of the *Bibliotheke*. This theme, however, is voiced throughout the whole work. Historical figures achieve honour for their good deeds, yet the honour is of a different kind. One may find at least sixteen such figures; to some of them Diodorus attributes a beneficial action which was followed by the granting of honours more than once (notably Caesar, whose deification is mentioned five times in different parts of the *Bibliotheke*). The case of Gelon is particularly interesting. Recounting the respect showed by the Syracusans towards their dead tyrant, Diodorus also explains the general role of history in commemorating and encouraging good deeds (XI.38.5–6). His phrases concerning both Gelon and history are similar to those used in the first five books. Hence the reason for the honour is benefaction, εὐεργεσία, and it is articulated by the adjective with which Diodorus describes those who will gain the honour: τοὺς ... εὐεργετικούς; it is also expressed when he argues that history impels later generations to make an effort for the common good: ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν εὐεργεσίαν. Undeniably, the respect that Gelon received differed from that given to mythical heroes. The people accorded him honours considered suitable for heroes: ἡρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε (i.e. ὁ δῆμος). Nevertheless, Diodorus uses almost the same formula, speaking of the role of history which should accord undying remembrance, τυγχάνειν ἀθανάθου μνήμης, to benefactors. The distinction is minor: μνήμη replaces τιμή.[23]

Three other Sicilians were revered as heroes: Hieron, Gelon's successor (XI.66.4: τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν ἔτυχεν);[24] Diocles, the Syracusan lawgiver (XIII.35.2: τιμαῖς ἡρωικαῖς ἐτίμησαν); and Dion, the liberator of Syracuse from the rule of Dionysius II (XVI.20.6: τιμὰς ἀπένειμεν [i.e. ὁ δῆμος] ἡρωικάς). The wording is similar, save for the verb; it would appear, however, that τιμᾶν prevails: Alexander the Great received honours of heroes from the Sambastae of India, τιμαῖς ἡρωικαῖς ... ἐτιμήθη (XVII.102.4), while Ptolemy honoured him with the sacrifices of heroes, θυσίαις ἡρωικαῖς ... τιμήσας, after his death (XVIII.28.4). Furthermore, Diocles is said to have been venerated because he excelled the other lawgivers in wisdom, σύνεσις, and reputation, δόξα (XIII.35.1).

[23] Cf. XI.26.6: the multitude proclaimed Gelon ἐυεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα.

[24] He was thus honoured for founding the city of Catana. See also Diod., XI.49 and compare with Strabo, VI.2.3 C 268, who does not mention any honours received by Hieron in Catana. The significance of this difference will be stressed below.

Diodorus mentions σύνεσις as a reason for immortality in the story of Osiris (I.13.1) and attributes this quality to Mucius Scaevola, as we shall see below (XXXVII.6). Dion, on the other hand, was found worthy of honours equal to those of heroes because he was a benefactor, εὐεργέτης, and, like Heracles, this was due to his ἀρετή (XVI.11.2, 20.6).

Certain historical figures gained honours equal to those of gods instead of those conferred on heroes that we have seen above: Demetrius Poliorcetes (XX.102.2: τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἔτυχε); Philopoemen (XXIX.18: τὰς ἰσοθέους τιμὰς ἠλλάξατο); and Mucius Scaevola (XXXVII.6: τιμῶν ἰσοθέον ἔτυχε). In the case of Poliorcetes, Diodorus adds that the honours were accorded him by those who had received the benefits, παρὰ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν, the same expression that he used for Dionysus (III.63.4). Philopoemen, like Heracles (III.9.1; IV.8.5, 53.7), was revered due to his ἀρετή and στρατηγία,[25] while Scaevola showed both ἀρετή and σύνεσις and was thus honoured by those he had benefited: παρὰ … τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι.[26] We ought to refer here to one more individual who was honoured as a god, though Diodorus uses a different phrasing. The Rhodians, wishing to thank Ptolemy, son of Lagus, for his kindness, asked the oracle of Ammon if it advised them to honour the king as a god, ὡς θεὸν τιμῆσαι, and received its approval (XX.100.3). It is worth noting that a response from the same oracle regarding the same kind of reverence is found elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke*. In the historical portion it refers to Hephaestion (XVII.115.6), whereas in the mythological section it concerns Semiramis (II.14.3) and Dionysus (III.73.3).

It is not merely honours of heroes or honours equal to those of gods that Diodorus records with regard to historical figures. Three of them attained the title god, θεός.[27] Mithridates VI of Pontus was called a god and a saviour, θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα προσαγορευόντων, by the people of the cities whose captives' lives he had spared (XXXVII.26). Darius I was named a god, θεὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι, by the Egyptians during his

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[25] Cf. *SIG*³, 624: "τιμᾶσαι Φιλοποίμενα … τιμαῖς ἰσοθέοις ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας". The inscription is a decree recording the posthumous honours bestowed upon Philopoemen by the people of Megalopolis, his native city (for the date of Philopoemen's death—183 or 182 BCE—see Errington 1969, pp. 241–245).

[26] Cf. *OGIS*, 437–439. The inscriptions commemorate Scaevola's contribution to the province of Asia Minor, but the honours mentioned by Diodorus are absent. See Magie 1950, vol. 1, pp. 173–174, vol. 2, pp. 1064–1065 n. 48.

[27] This Hellenistic practice will be further discussed below; see Part II Chapter 5, pp. 289–294.

lifetime, since he had shown respect for the laws and gods of Egypt (I.95.5).[28] The most notable one, however, is Julius Caesar. In the *prooemium* to his work, Diodorus states that the Gallic War of Caesar, who had been called a god, προσαγορευθεὶς θεός, will mark the end of his history (I.4.7). The same words appear in the description of the foundation of Alesia by Heracles. Diodorus does not miss the opportunity and asserts that the city remained free until it was seized by Caesar, who has been called a god, τοῦ … θεοῦ προσαγορευθέντος (IV.19.2). Elsewhere, arguing that neither Dionysus nor Heracles, nor any other hero or leader, had taken upon himself to conquer Britain, Diodorus maintains that Caesar, who had been called a god, ἐπονομασθεὶς θεός, was the first man to have accomplished this task (V.21.2). A few chapters later, Diodorus notes that Caesar, who had been celebrated as a god, κληθεὶς θεός, built a bridge over the Rhine in order to lead his army across (V.25.4). In the historical part of the *Bibliotheke*, Diodorus dwells on Caesar's character and deification amidst the story of rebuilding Corinth. Again, he emphasizes (twice) that Caesar had been called a god, ὀνομασθεὶς θεός (XXXII.27.1, 3).

Although Diodorus uses various verbs, he obviously employs a unique formula for the description of Caesar's deification. Save for once in the genitive, the whole phrase appears in the nominative, while the verb is given in the passive voice participle of the Aorist.[29] Furthermore, similarities occur also in the cause given by Diodorus to the election of Caesar. Diodorus constantly says that immortality was bestowed upon Caesar because of his deeds, or because the magnitude of his deeds: διὰ

[28] It is generally agreed that this detail regarding Darius was inserted by Diodorus and was not part of Hecataeus of Abdera's words whose work Diodorus used. See Murray 1970, p. 149 and n. 1; Sacks 1990, p. 182 n. 101. Sacks, however, overlooked the case of Mithridates, as he says that apart from Caesar, it was only Darius I whom Diodorus describes as being called a god. Although XXXVII.26 (relating to Mithridates) is a fragment of a Byzantine work, it ought to be considered, just as we consider XXXII.27.3 (relating to Caesar) which is also a fragment. A search in the *TLG* and in McDougall's Lexicon did not reveal any other occasion in which Diodorus employs the phrasings that he had used for Caesar.

[29] Cf. Sacks 1990, p. 182, who maintains that Diodorus' words regarding Caesar's deification "is so formulaic and consistently different from that used for the dozens of other apotheoses that Diodorus must have intended the distinction". Elsewhere he adds that Diodorus' choice of words, namely that Caesar was only "called" a god, suggests a criticism of Octavian who assumed the title *divi filius* (p. 195). See also Rubincam 1992, pp. 94–95, 99–100. For the names and titles of Octavian/Augustus found in various Greek and Roman authors and their significance, see Rubincam 1991 and Rubincam 1992, passim.

τὰς πράξεις (I.4.7; V.21.2; XXXII.27.1, 3); διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πράξεων (IV.19.2).[30] It is interesting to compare the depiction of veneration shown to Caesar (XXXII.27.3) with that shown to Heracles (IV.8.5). Caesar has ἀρετή and "superiority of clemency", τὴν ὑπερβολὴν … τῆς ἐπιεικείας; Heracles shows τὴν ὑπερβολὴν … τῆς ἀρετῆς. Both Caesar and Heracles received praise, τὸν … ἔπαινον, and an everlasting one: τὸν αἰώνιον … ἔπαινον (Caesar); τὴν ἀθανασίαν (Heracles). This has been given them due to their deeds: διὰ τὰς πράξεις / μεγέθει πράξεων (Caesar); τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις / ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἔργοις (Heracles). The resemblance is striking;[31] even the word θεός is associated with Heracles: Diodorus highlights the failure to appreciate the god (i.e. Heracles) in his own days in contrast to the conduct of the ancestors (IV.8.5).

Yet the word θεός appears in the definition of the honours given to, or rather taken by, two other persons. Alexander the Great announced that everyone should offer sacrifices to Hephaestion as god coadjutor, θύειν Ἡφαιστίωνι θεῷ παρέδρῳ, and was pleased to discover that his decree was consistent with the response of Ammon, according to which they should offer sacrifices to Hephaestion as a god, θύειν Ἡφαιστίωνι θεῷ (XVII.115.6). Philip, the father of Alexander, on the other hand, had himself enthroned with the twelve gods, τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς, due to the magnitude of his dominion, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆν ἀρχῆς. Though the cause is different, Diodorus' clearly uses the same syntax that we have seen above (e.g. διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας in I.17.2; III.64.2, or διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πράξεων in IV.19.2).

Three more cases in which Diodorus expresses the notion that conferring benefactions upon the race of man will gain the benefactor some kind of honour are worth considering. Diodorus censures M. Atilius Regulus, the Roman commander during the First Punic War, who could have made peace on terms advantageous to Rome and could, as a result, have gained for himself everlasting remembrance, αἰώνιον μνήμην, from all men, παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, owing to acts of clemency and humanity. Yet he chose to be arrogant (XXIII.15.2). Further, Eumelus, king of Pontus, cleared the sea of pirates. Out of gratitude the merchants made known his magnanimity, μεγαλοψυχίαν; consequently he received the highest reward of benefaction, τῆς εὐεργεσίας, which is praise, ἔπαινον (XX.25.2). Finally, Cassander endeavoured to rebuild Thebes, for he

[30] In V.25.4 Diodorus mentions no reason for the act.
[31] See also the observation of Sacks 1990, p. 74.

assumed that due to this benefaction, διὰ τῆν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην, he would attain immortal fame, τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου δόξης (XIX.53.2).

The last case reveals another feature which is common to both mythological and historical figures. Cassander undertook to perform a benevolent act, thinking beforehand of his own reward. So did, as noted previously, Osiris (I.17.2), Dionysus (III.70.8) and Heracles (I.2.4; III.30.4). We should add Demetrius Poliorcetes to this list. He believed that by freeing the Greeks from Cassander's rule and by giving them their autonomy he would acquire great fame (XX.102.1).[32] Again, we can detect similarities not merely in the idea itself, but in Diodorus' wording. He says, for example, that Osiris supposed that he would acquire immortal honours because of the magnitude of his benefaction, ὑπολαμβάνειν ... τιμῶν ἀθανάτων τεύξεται διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας, whereas Cassander supposed that he would acquire immortal fame because of his benefaction, ὑπολαβὼν ... διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου δόξης.

The above survey clearly indicates that the concept of an individual performing benefactions for the common good and a consequent honour is voiced throughout the *Bibliotheke*. One noticeable distinction exists, however, between the mythological and historical sections of the work. Mythical heroes usually received ἀθανασία or ἀθάνατος τιμή, words which Diodorus does not use for historical figures. Instead, we may find ἡρωικὴ τιμή, ἀθάνατος μνήμη, αἰώνιος μνήμη, ἀθάνατος δόξα, ἔπαινος and also ἰσόθεος τιμή, referring to the person as a god, ὡς θεός, or naming him god, θεός. The last three appear in the mythological part as well. This divergence does not indicate a fundamental difference between the two sections of the *Bibliotheke*. Diodorus could not employ the same terms since there was indeed a distinction in the honours granted: most of the historical figures did not become divine. Thus Diodorus replaced the words, but retained the same pattern.[33] This may also explain why Diodorus often chooses to omit the term εὐεργεσία from his descriptions of the beneficial acts of historical figures and decides instead to depict their specific deeds.[34] Similarly, he names the

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[32] See Sacks (1990, p. 78) who relates briefly to this notion but fails to mention Demetrius. In addition, he is mistaken in replacing Eumelus with Eumenes as the king who cleared the sea of pirates (XX.25.2).

[33] He even preserves the "rhythm". For instance: τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου τιμῆς (III.63.4: Dionysus); τυγχάνειν ἀθανάτου μνήμης (XI.38.6: Gelon).

[34] In four cases out of those mentioned here Diodorus does employ the nouns εὐεργεσία and εὐεργέτης, or the verb εὐεργετεῖν: Gelon (XI.38.6), Dion (XVI.11.2), Scaevola (XXXVII.6) and Cassander (XIX.53.2).

people or the person who bestowed the honour and does not employ general remarks, such as παρ᾽ ἀντρώποις, that are characteristic of the mythological part of the work.[35] It is possible that in dealing with a historical event, Diodorus preferred to state the known facts rather than to use his general statements from the mythological stories. One gets the impression that in his first five books Diodorus introduced an idea which he intended to develop further and illustrate with historical examples. But, at the same time, one may argue in favour of the opposite process, namely that Diodorus meant to offer an ancient and well-established precedent for the historical events.

Diodorus' treatment of Caesar reinforces the assumption that he did not engage himself solely in copying material found in his sources. Caesar is the only historical figure whose deification is mentioned in the mythological portion of the *Bibliotheke*. Indeed, the name Ptolemy, son of Lagus, is brought up three times, but Diodorus uses it to date an event (I.31.7, 46.7–8, 84.8). In Caesar's case, on the other hand, with the exception of one occasion (III.38.2–4), Diodorus emphasizes that the Roman leader had been called a god. It seems, therefore, that the notion of an individual conferring benefactions upon mankind as a result of which he will gain honours was fixed in Diodorus' mind from the beginning of his writing. Thus whenever the opportunity arose, he mentions it, regardless of the source used.[36] Furthermore, the consistent phrasing that Diodorus employs for Caesar (which includes a verb with the meaning of "to call" in the passive voice and the noun "god") appears in various portions of the *Bibliotheke*: Books I, IV, V as well as in fragments of Books XXXII and XXXVII, which were based on different authors. This provides further proof of Diodorus' independent work.

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[35] With the exception of Demetrius (XX.102.2: παρὰ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι); Scaevola (XXXVII.6: παρὰ τοῖς … εὐεργετηθεῖσι); Regulus (XXIII.15.2: παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις).

[36] Yet in III.38.2–4 Diodorus misses such an opportunity. Revealing his intention to discuss Britain and the northern regions, he says that he will include an account of them in his record of Caesar's deeds. Caesar, he adds, extended the Roman Empire to those areas which were previously unknown. Although noting his achievement, Diodorus uncharacteristically does not relate to Caesar's apotheosis. Sacks (1990, p. 171) suggests that Book III was written prior to the event and at the same time argues that the mention of the deification in the mythological section is an interpolation made after the work was completed (n. 54). If we accept this explanation, which there is no reason to reject, it follows that going back and revising his work, Diodorus simply missed yet another place where he could emphasize the divinity of Caesar. This conclusion does not contradict the assumption that Diodorus thought of the idea of honouring a benefactor when he began to write. It implies, however, that Caesar's election served as a catalyst.

We need to ask now whether this notion, which appears so frequently in the *Bibliotheke*, can be traced in the works of other Hellenistic writers. Polybius, who was one of Diodorus' sources, states that Antigonus Doson conferred the greatest benefits, τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν, on the Lacedaemonians and therefore they regarded him as a benefactor, εὐεργέτης, and after his death as a saviour, σωτήρ. This king attained eternal honour and glory, ἀθανάτου τέτευχε τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, from all the Greeks, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν (V.9.9–10). Elsewhere Polybius says that Antigonus received (from the Achaeans and various other cities) every thing which is proper for eternal glory and honour, τυχὼν πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀθάνατον δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν ἀνηκόντων (II.70.5). Antigonus' treatment of Sparta after the battle of Sellasia is mentioned again in the speech of an Acarnanian envoy to Sparta in 211 BCE, who said that the king was hailed in return as a benefactor, εὐεργέτης, and as a saviour, σωτήρ (IX.36.5). There is much resemblance between the wording of Polybius and Diodorus.[37] Yet while Polybius employs it only three times and in relation to one figure, Diodorus makes an extensive use of his version as well as ascribing it to an impressive variety of characters.[38] If the latter did not create the formula, his originality lies in the contents and contexts in which he uses it.

An echo of the idea is found in the writings of Artapanus, a Jewish historian dated from the mid-third to the mid-second century BCE, who is cited by Eusebius of Caesarea. He tells of Moses, whom the Egyptian priests named Hermes and regarded as worthy of godlike honour, ἰσοθέου τιμῆς (*Praep. Evang.*, IX.27.6).[39]

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[37] Sacks 1990, p. 74 n. 89.

[38] One should also notice the use of the word σωτήρ in addition to εὐεργέτης by Polybius, while Diodorus employs it only twice in connection with the man who received the honours. In XI.26.6 he says, as noted above, that the multitude proclaimed Gelon εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ βασιλέα, whereas the formula of the honours given itself appears in XI.38.5; in XVI.20.6, regarding Dion, he writes, as mentioned above, τιμὰς ἀπένειμεν ἡρωικάς, and a few sentences later adds that the Syracusans honoured the benefactor as the one and only saviour, ἐτίμων τὸν ἐυεργέτην ὡς μόνον σωτῆρα. Elsewhere Diodorus uses the phrasing which includes εὐεργέτης as well as σωτήρ, but with no mention of eternal honours. In XXXIII.1.5 the Lusitanians honoured their leader as a common benefactor and saviour, since he was scrupulous in the division of spoils. It is possible that Diodorus borrowed the theme from Polybius, who uses it also in IV.22.10 and XVIII.13.10. σωτήρ, as noted previously, was a title attained, according to Diodorus, by Mithridates in addition to θεός (XXXVII.26).

[39] For Artapanus' origin, date and for the fragments of his work, see Holladay 1983, vol. 1, pp. 189–243.

Strabo, living in the first century BCE and at the beginning of the first CE, describes, like Diodorus, journeys and accomplishments of heroes. Yet, unlike Diodorus, he usually does so with no mention of immortal honours. He writes, for instance, that Semiramis founded Babylon and initiated works such as the construction of walls, reservoirs, roads and bridges almost throughout the whole of the land (XVI.1.2 C 737). A similar description written by Diodorus would have concluded with the honours bestowed upon the heroine (cf. II.14.1–3). Strabo, on the other hand, ends the discussion by saying that Semiramis and Ninus, her husband, left to their successors an empire which existed until the Medes took it over. Strabo's treatment of Heracles is another example. The geographer states that Heracles overcame giants (VI.3.5 C 281), defeated a barbarian tribe (VII, fr. 25), was the first who both participated and won the Olympic Games (VIII.3.30 C 355), and killed Nessus, who tried to violate Deianeira (X.2.5 C 451). Strabo does not refer to the hero's deification in any of these cases. He omits this detail even when he writes of Heracles being beneficent, εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα (X.2.19 C 458), or notes that the hot water near Thermopylae is regarded as sacred to Heracles (IX.4.13 C 428).

Nevertheless, allusions to the notion can be found throughout the *Geographia*. Strabo recounts a prophecy according to which Heracles was destined to become a god, θεῷ γενέσθαι, after he had finished his labours (V.3.3 C 230). He further states that the inhabitants of Ilium did not worship Heracles because he sacked their city, yet they considered it appropriate to honour other heroes as gods, τιμᾶν ὡς θεούς, although those heroes destroyed the city utterly whereas Heracles left it still standing (XIII.1.32 C 596).[40] As for historical figures, Strabo maintains that Alexander, learning that the Arabians worshipped only two gods, Zeus and Dionysus, assumed that he himself would be honoured as a third, τρίτον ... ἑαυτὸν τιμήσεσθαι, if, having conquered them, he allowed them to keep their ancestral rules (XVI.1.11 C 741). There is a striking resemblance between the aspirations ascribed to Alexander by Strabo and the ambitions of Osiris and Cassander as described by Diodorus. Nonetheless, though the concept that a human being can achieve divine honours due to his benevolent acts finds its expression in Strabo's *Geographia*, it is not mentioned as frequently as in the *Bibliotheke* nor has it the same wording.

[40] See also III.5.6 C 172: relating to the Pillars of Heracles, Strabo says that these should be a reminder of Heracles' mighty deeds.

The language of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, also of the first century BCE, is closer to that of Diodorus. In the first book of his *Romaike Archaiologia* he says that he has decided not to ignore the period followed the founding of Rome; one of the results, he adds, will be that brave men will gain immortal glory, δόξης αἰωνίου τυχεῖν (I.6.3).[41] In his depiction of Heracles' expeditions, Dionysius remarks that because of certain good deeds, the name and the fame of Heracles became the greatest in Italy (I.42.4). Later in his narrative Dionysius "completes" the formula adding that the hero gained fame and glory and honours equal to those of gods, δόξης τε καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ... τυχών, from all the inhabitants of Italy, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ (I.44.1). The same idea but in somewhat different wording appears in VII.72.13. Relating to Roman festivities during which a procession was held, Dionysius describes people who carried images of gods and demigods, ἡμιθέοι; the latter were according to him human beings, who received honours equal to those of gods, τιμᾶς λαχεῖν ὁμοίας θεοῖς, after their souls had left their bodies. In another work, dealing with the ancient orators, Dionysius cites Lysias' assertion (in the Olympic Games of 384 BCE) that it was Heracles who established these games among many other fine deeds, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν ἔργων, for which he deserves to be remembered, μεμνῆσθαι (*Lys.*, 30). Summing up a letter written by Isocrates to Philip II of Macedon, Dionysius writes that Isocrates urged the king to follow the example of Heracles and other leaders who marched with the Greeks against the barbarians, asserting that men should attempt to achieve their goals with valour (ἀρετή), thinking that the body is mortal, but that we become immortal through valour, ἀθάνατοι ... γιγνόμεθα δι' ἀρετήν (*Isoc.*, 6).

The idea of deification which an individual may obtain through his benefactions is also voiced in Latin literature. It is emphasized particularly in Varro's *De Gente Populi Romani*, which is dated to 43 BCE.[42] More than ten references to that idea may be found in the fragments, which are preserved in the *De Civitate Dei* of Augustine.[43] In each case Varro presents a king who, after his death, achieved divine honours on account of his acts. The Sicyonians worshipped Telxion their king as a god, *velut deum colerent*, at his death, since the time of his reign was peaceful and

[41] Cf. Diod., I.2.4–5 who assigns to history practically the same role, and also I.3.6 for the importance of recounting the affairs of most ancient times.

[42] Taylor 1934, p. 221.

[43] Peter 1967, vol. 2, pp. 10–24.

happy (XVIII.2); a temple was built at the tomb of the younger brother of the king of Argolis, in which he was to be worshipped as a god, *coleretur ut deus*. The author believes that this honour was accorded him since he had introduced new inventions to the inhabitants of the district which he ruled alongside his brother. Consequently his subjects thought that at his death he had become a god, *deum esse factum* (XVIII.3); Isis came to Egypt as queen and, because she reigned with justice and introduced many useful things in this country, including the art of writing, this divine honour (i.e. being called a goddess) was bestowed upon her, *hunc honorem … habitum esse divinum*, after her death (XVIII.3); Apis, king of Argos, became Serapis, the chief god of all the Egyptians, *omnium maximus Aegyptiorum deus*, after he had died in their country (XVIII.5);[44] Argus, son of Apis and his successor, also began to be considered as a god, *deus haberi coepit*, after his death. This honour had been given earlier in his reign to a private man, since he first yoked oxen to the plough (XVIII.6); down to the time of Cecrops, king of the Athenians, some dead men were enrolled in the rank of the gods, *relati sunt in deorum numerum aliquot mortui* (XVIII.8);[45] Dionysus, who was considered a god, *qui … deus habitus*, after his death, revealed the vine to his host in Attica (XVIII.12); the Laurentines made Saturn (also called Stercus or Stercutius) a god, *fecerunt deum*, for his service to agriculture. In like manner they received his son Picus into the rank of such gods, *in talium deorum numerum receperunt*, and even the grandson Faunus either is or was a god for them, *deus illis vel est vel fuit*. In general, Varro adds, they bestowed divine honours on dead men, *divinos honores mortuis hominibus detulerunt*, prior to the Trojan War (XVIII.15); some of the Greeks, returning victors from Troy, increased the number of their gods and even made Diomedes a god, *fecerunt deum* (XVIII.16); the Latins made Aeneas, who reigned over them for three years, a god, *deum … fecerunt*, while the Sabines included their first king, Sancus, among the

44 We should bear in mind that certain parts of the text preserved in Augustine are not Varro's. See Taylor 1934, pp. 222–223 for the suggestion that the words *factus est Serapis*, which precede *omnium maximus Aegyptiorum deus*, are not the words of Varro. See also below.

45 Obviously, the rest of the sentence—*caeca et vana consuetudine ac superstitione Graecorum*—is not Varro's. In this same chapter it is said that men wished Mercury be a god after his death because of the benefits that he conferred upon them, and further, that he and Heracles were mortals and that because of their *beneficia multa*, they attained divine honours. It is, however, questionable whether this passage belongs to Varro. See Taylor 1934, pp. 222–223.

gods, *rettulerunt in deos*, and the Athenians worshipped Codrus as a god by offering sacrifices, *deum sacrificiorum honore coluerunt* (XVIII.19). Finally, according to Varro, after Aeneas, whom the Latins had made a god, *quem deum fecerunt*, none of the eleven kings was made a god, *deus factus est*. Aventinus, who was the twelfth king, was added to the rank of such gods, *deorum talium … numero est additus*, but until Romulus none of the kings of Latium was made a god, *non est deus factus* (XVIII.21).

It seems, therefore, that Varro took an interest in divine honours which were given to human beings as much as Diodorus did. We can detect in Varro's work, too, formulae which are parallel to those of Diodorus: *velut deum colere*—ὡς θεὸν τιμῆσαι; *honorem habitum esse divinum*—τυχεῖν ἰσοθέου τιμῆς; *deus factus est*—τυχεῖν τῆς ἀθανασίας and τυχεῖν ἀθανάθου τιμῆς. It is highly probable that both authors were influenced by Julius Caesar's deification, which was under discussion by the time they worked on their history. One remark in Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* (1.5) provides further proof. Composing his monograph after the assassination of Caesar, Sallust stresses that if men had regard for good objects, *hominibus bonarum rerum … cura esset*, they would advance to greatness, where from mortals they would become immortal through glory, *ubi pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent*.

The assumption that a repetition of such phrases is typical of Diodorus' time is strengthened by an examination of both Livy and Velleius Paterculus. These historians, though close to Diodorus in time, reflect a different period of Roman history, a period in which one man, who attached to his name the title *divi filius*, ruled Rome. Livy began to write circa 30 BCE, when it was already clear that Octavian had won the war.[46] There are, however, traces of the concept that gods had previously been human beings in his work. He describes, for instance, how M. Acilius Glabrio sacrificed to Heracles in the place in which the mortal body of this god, *mortale corpus eius dei*, had been burned (XXXVI.30.3). Livy recounts also the granting of divine honour to benefactors. In the assembly of the Achaean league, he says, it was customary to announce the names of Zeus, Apollo and Heracles, to which they added by law the name of Philip V of Macedon (XXXII.25.2); Philopoemen's merits as a commander were pre-eminent and gained him glory (XXXV.28.1–7, 30.12–13; XXXVII.20.2). All human honours were heaped upon him to such a degree that the people did not even refrain from divine honours,

[46] Luce 1965, pp. 209–240; Luce 1977, pp. 5 n. 5, 8 n. 17, 15, 139.

omnibus humanis congestis honoribus, ut ne divinis quidem abstineretur (XXXIX.50.9). Caesar's apotheosis is mentioned only in fragments and excerpts. There is a reference to the altar of the god Caesar, *dei Caesaris* (*Per.*, CXXXIX) and to a star dedicated to *divus Iulius* (Julius Obsequens, 68).

In light of the above examples we can safely say that for Livy the idea was not as important as it was for either Diodorus or Varro. Even in the case of Philopoemen, to whom Livy ascribes some kind of benefaction for which he received divine honours, the information is gathered from various parts of the work. Describing the return of Philopoemen's bones to Achaea, Livy relates to the respect conferred upon him, yet he does not mention again his contribution to his homeland. However, both Diodorus and Livy note his military skill as a reason for the granting of such an honour.

Velleius Paterculus, who was born after the establishment of the principate and wrote his history at the beginning of the first century BCE, refers to the idea of deification only once. In order to note a date for an event, Velleius remarks that it was a hundred and twenty years after Heracles had departed to the gods, *ad deos exceserat* (I.2.1). With some degree of confidence, it can be determined, therefore, that more than a decade after the murder of Caesar, the notion of deification no longer concerned authors. Hence the little interest shown both by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo. Dionysius states that he had come to Italy at the time when Octavian put an end to the Civil War and that since then until the time of his writing, a period of twenty-two years, he stayed in Rome, learned its language and literature, gathered information and started working on his history (*Ant. Rom.*, I.7.2–3).[47] Strabo arrived at Rome shortly afterwards. He sailed from the island of Gyaros with an ambassador who was sent by the locals to Octavian; the latter was himself on his way to Rome to celebrate the triumph after his victory at Actium (X.5.3 C 485). Though there is no agreement as to the date of Strabo's composition (some say 18–19 CE, others circa 7 CE),[48] both Dionysius and Strabo wrote in a later period than did Diodorus, in a different atmosphere and under new circumstances.

An examination of the writings of other authors, both earlier and later than those mentioned above, confirms the hypothesis that frequent references to divine honours, given to benefactors, are unique to Diodorus

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[47] See Gabba 1991, pp. 1–5.

[48] Jones 1917, vol. 1, pp. XXIV–XXVI; Bowersock 1985, pp. 642–643.

and to those who wrote in the very same years. Herodotus is the first to come to mind, for he not only refers to some of Diodorus' heroes, but is also one of his sources. In a detailed description of Sesostris' voyage—this includes lands that he visited, peoples that he conquered and the manner in which he treated them—Herodotus remarks that Darius, the Persian king, wished to set his own statue before those of Sesostris and his family. The priest of Hephaestus, however, forbade him, saying that his achievements were not equal to those of Sesostris (II.102–110). The same story is told by Diodorus (I.58.4),[49] who depicts Sesostris' great deeds as well and adds that he had crossed countries in which Alexander the Great had not set foot (I.55.3). Yet, though one might expect Diodorus to reiterate his usual formula, according to which his hero gained immortal honours due to his accomplishments, he does not do it. Regarding Semiramis, on the other hand, Herodotus says that she built dikes on the plain of Babylon in order to prevent its flooding by the river. He also remarks that her work was notable but does not mention an eternal honour as a consequence (I.184), while Diodorus asserts that she was told that she would achieve such honour after her death (II.14.3).

Yet even Herodotus alludes to the idea that mortals can become immortals. It is to be seen, for instance, in some of his remarks concerning Heracles: In II.43 he argues that Heracles was one of the twelve Egyptian gods, and that long before the reign of Amasis he was among the four whom the Egyptians added to their eight existing gods; in II.44 he explains that there were two different figures named Heracles: to one the Greeks had offered sacrifices as to an immortal (ὡς ἀθανάτῳ) calling him the Olympian, to the other they had brought offerings as to a hero (ὡς ἥρωι); finally, in II.45 he details and then criticizes a tale, according to which the Egyptians planned to sacrifice Heracles, while still a man (ἔτι ἄνθρωπον), to Zeus.[50] Furthermore, referring to Hecataeus' statement that one of his forefathers was a god, Herodotus notes that the priests were not persuaded that a man could be descended from a god. They admitted, however, that in the past the rulers of Egypt were gods (II.143–144). Nevertheless, the typical wording of Diodorus—τυχεῖν ἀθανάθου τιμῆς which is associated with εὐεργεσία—is miss-

[49] It is quite clear that Diodorus used Herodotus, and therefore the differences in their phrasings are interesting. The reply of the priest in Herodotus (II.110): φὰς οὔ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ, whereas Diodorus (I.58.4) writes: ἀποφηνάμενος ὡς οὔπω Δαρεῖος ὑπερβέβηκε τὰς Σεσοώσιος πράξεις. Diodorus obviously tries to alter rather than to copy his source.

[50] See Lloyd 1976, vol. 2, pp. 212–214.

ing in Herodotus. Diodorus, as stated above, mentions it with regard to Osiris, Sesostris, Dionysus and Heracles, all of whom appear in the second book of Herodotus.

An examination of later narratives reveals much of the same findings. Flavius Josephus says that Megasthenes made an attempt to demonstrate that Nebuchadnezzar surpassed Heracles in virtue and in the magnitude of his deeds, τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων (*AI*, X.227; cf. *Ap.*, I.144). Diodorus depicts the causes for immortal honour in similar words (e.g. IV.19.2, 53.7), but perhaps this should not surprise us, since both authors used Megasthenes. Josephus calls Osiris a god (*Ap.*, I.250, 265) and discusses Berosus' criticism of the Greek view that Semiramis founded Babylon and built marvellous buildings there (*Ap.*, I.142), yet he makes no mention of any grant of divine honours on account of benefactions.

Plutarch, in an essay dealing with Isis and Osiris, disapproves of the idea that mortals could be turned into gods. He first cites the belief of Euhemerus, who wrote circa 300 BCE and influenced Hellenistic authors, including Diodorus (V.41–46; VI.1), that all the gods had previously been generals and kings (*De Is. et Os.*, 23 [*Mor.*, 360a]) and then brings forward several arguments to refute this belief. Plutarch argues that Semiramis' great deeds, μεγάλαι … πράξεις, were famous in Assyria, as were those of Sesostris in Egypt; Cyrus led the Persians in victory after victory, as did Alexander for the Macedonians. Yet despite their achievements, all of them were remembered only as good kings. Arrogant beings, on the other hand, who have assumed the title of 'god', lost their fame after a short period of time (*De Is. et Os.*, 24 [*Mor.*, 360b–c]). Thus, according to Plutarch, gods such as Isis, Osiris, Heracles and Dionysus were not human beings, but δαίμονες, creatures of a mixed nature (μικτὴ φύσις); they were stronger than men yet shared some of the human characteristics, such as susceptibility to pain and pleasure (*De Is. et Os.*, 24–25, 26 [*Mor.*, 360d–e, 361a]). Isis and Osiris, who were good δαίμονες, became gods, through their virtue, δι' ἀρετήν; the same happened later in the case of Heracles and Dionysus (*De Is. et Os.*, 27, cf. 29–30 [*Mor.*, 361e, cf. 362e]).

This distinction between the views of Diodorus and Plutarch (a gap of more than a hundred years exists between them) may also be traced in Plutarch's biographies although we can also observe certain similarities. Plutarch writes that the Syracusans addressed Dion with prayers as if he were a god, ὥσπερ θεόν (*Dion*, 29.1), whereas according to Diodorus he received honours befitting a hero, τιμὰς … ἡρωικάς (XVI.20.6).

Plutarch states that the Athenians bestowed upon Demetrius extravagant honours because of his benefactions, ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις, calling him and Antigonus saviours-gods, σωτῆρας ... θεούς (*Demetr.*, 10.2, cf. 13.2), while Diodorus defines the honours as ἰσοθέοι (XX.102.2). Describing the eulogy of Philopoemen after his death, Plutarch quotes words said in his praise—that he was, for instance, the last of the Greeks (*Phil.*, 1.4, cf. *Aratus*, 24.2); Diodorus, on the other hand, claims that he gained honours equal to those of gods (XXIX.18).

It might be helpful to conclude our survey of later authors with the biographies of Suetonius. At the end of the *Life of Caesar* Suetonius writes (in a phrasing similar to Varro's) that Caesar was enrolled in the ranks of the gods, *in deorum numerum relatus est*, stresses that this was done by formal decree as well as the persuasion of the common people, details the episode of the comet and recounts other honours, such as naming the Ides of March Day of Parricide (*Iul.*, 88). Suetonius does not mention any benefactions as a result of which Caesar was deified nor does he dwell on the subject apart from in this one chapter. Lack of interest in this issue is also shown in the biography of Augustus. Suetonius mentions the name *Divus Iulius* at least six times (*Aug.*, 2.1, 15.1, 17.5, 31.2, 94.11, 100.3) but, unlike Diodorus, who refers to the magnitude of Caesar's deeds, he does not go further than stating a name.

Hence the writings of distant authors, both earlier and later than Diodorus' own time, confirm the assumption that emphasizing the idea of an individual performing good deeds for the common good and the consequent divine (or other) honours is unique to those who wrote their work in the 40's BCE.[51] Epigraphic evidence previously cited provides further proof. Indeed, the fact that Philopoemen obtained honours equal to those of gods appears also in an inscription (*SIG*^{3}, 624); yet similar honours, which are referred by Diodorus to the Roman governor of Asia in the first century BCE, are not mentioned in inscriptions which commemorate his contribution to the province (*OGIS*, 437–439). This, as well as the consistency in the *Bibliotheke* itself, indicates that Diodorus did his own work. But let us scrutinize one more motif before reaching any conclusions.

In the stories of culture-heroes and in other parts of the *Bibliotheke* Diodorus highlights merciful behaviour of rulers both towards their

[51] A search for phrases such as τυχεῖν ἀθανάθου τιμῆς and ἀθανάθου τιμῆς, in the *TLG* did not reveal any other authors who made use of them.

subjects and their enemies.[52] As part of his preparations to his campaign, Sesostris took steps in order to secure the loyalty of the Egyptians, be they the soldiers in the battle field or the inhabitants left behind in their native lands. Some of them he won over by gifts of either money or lands, others by remission of penalties. The entire people he attached to himself by friendliness and kindness. In addition, he dealt leniently with all the conquered peoples (I.54.1–2, 55.10). Myrina, bearing herself moderately towards the Atlantians, after their surrender, first established friendship with them and then founded a city in which she settled both the captives and any native who wished to join (III.54.5). Dionysus was known for treating all men kindly and for contributing to the improvement of their lives (III.65.1). He punished the impious among the Thracians and the Titans, but treated the rest of them leniently (III.65.7, 71.5, 72.4). Having captivated Cronus and Rhea, he forgave them and was ready to embrace them as his parents provided that they maintained good will towards him (III.72.5). Heracles surpassed all others in clemency, since he saved the life of the sister of Eurystheus, his enemy (IV.12.7). He further convinced the sons of Phineus to renounce any attempt to execute their stepmother, an act for which they gained the reputation of clement men (IV.44.4), while Jason, with whom Heracles sailed on the Argo, pitied the daughters of his enemy Pelias and announced that he would conduct himself moderately and magnanimously (IV.52.5–53.1).

In most of these cases Diodorus uses the same words and a similar syntax to express this notion. His formula consists of two parts: a) a description of the merciful behaviour; b) an indication of the figure treated with clemency. For the clement behaviour Diodorus employs the noun ἐπιείκεια, or the adverb ἐπιεικῶς, accompanied by the verb προσφέρειν. The adverb with the participle in the passive voice appears in Books I (Sesostris) and III (Myrina and Dionysus):

ἐπιεικῶς	… προσενεχθείς	(I.55.10)
ἐπιεικῶς	… προσενεχθεῖσαν	(III.54.5)
ἐπιεικῶς	προσφερόμενος	(III.65.1)
ἐπιεικῶς	… προσενεχθέντα	(III.65.7)

We may also find the infinitive in the passive voice (Heracles):

ἐπιεικῶς … προσενεχθήσεσθαι (IV.53.1)

[52] For this theme in the relationship between missionaries and recipients, see below, Part II Chapter 6, pp. 309–312.

The noun ἐπιείκεια with other constructed verbs of φέρειν are to be found in the tale of Heracles:

ἐπιεικείᾳ διαφέρειν	(IV.12.7)
ἀπενέγκασθαι ... δόξαν ἐπιεικείας	(IV.44.4)

A different verb appears once (Sesostris):

τῇ τῶν τρόπων ἐπιεικείᾳ προσήγετο (I.54.2)

and so is the adverb φιλανθρώπως instead of ἐπιεικῶς (Dionysus):

φιλανθρώπως προσφερόμενον (III.72.4)

When Diodorus mentions the figure treated with clemency, he uses the dative next to προσφέρειν. The adjective πᾶς or ἅπας is found in the tales of Sesostris and Dionysus:

ἅπασι τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις	(I.55.10)
πᾶσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις	(III.72.4)
πᾶσιν	(III.65.1)

other adjectives or pronouns appear in the stories of Dionysus and Myrina, again in the dative plural:

τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις	(III.65.7)
αὐτοῖς	(III.54.5)

In a single case πᾶς is in the accusative with the verb προσάγειν: πάντας (I.54.2, Sesostris).

There are, however, several instances in the tales of the culture-heroes in which Diodorus, though putting into words the idea of clemency itself, does not employ the above formula. The resemblance, therefore, occurs in the content, but we may also detect certain recurring words. Sesostris granted amnesty to the Babylonian captives (to whom Diodorus refers with the adjective αἰχμάλωτος in a previous sentence) despite their revolt. Consequently they settled (κατοικῆσαι) in Egypt, calling their colony Babylon (I.56.3). Myrina, as mentioned above, treating the Atlantians kindly, settled (κατοικίσαι) the captives (τούς ... αἰχμαλώτους) in a city founded by her (III.54.5). Dionysus got the Titan captives released from the charges (ἀπολύσαντος ... τῶν ἐγκλημάτων). When he offered them the choice of either joining him in his campaign or leaving if they so desired (βούλοιντο), they all decided to join him (III.71.5). Permission to decide for themselves was also granted by Myrina to the Atlantians. Except for the captives, she allowed any native who so desired (βουλόμενον) to settle in the city that she had founded (III.54.5).

Dionysus released from the accusations (ἀφεῖναι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων) both Cronus and Rhea, whom he took as captives (αἰχμαλώτους) (III.72.5).

Until now we have focused on examples of the six heroes whose stories form the heart of this study. Yet Diodorus mentions the leaders' tendency to treat their subjects kindly in his discussion of other figures in his first five books. It may be of use to examine some of the cases. The formula (ἐπιεικῶς with προσφέρειν) appears when Diodorus speaks of Actisanes, the king of the Ethiopians, who, having occupied Egypt, treated the conquered people leniently (I.60.3). The same was true of the conduct of Arbaces, the king of Asia, towards the inhabitants of Babylon (II.28.7, cf. 28.5, 28.6). The case of an imaginary people, in a chapter drawn on Iambulus, is also worth mentioning. Diodorus describes an island whose inhabitants were kind men (ἐπιεικεῖς ἀνθρώπους) and showed clemency towards strangers (II.55.4, 56.1).[53] The same idea but with different phrasing, may be found in Diodorus' description of the Egyptian customs with respect to the dead. Diodorus argues that the men who established these customs ought to be admired, since they endeavoured to inculcate clemency (ἐπιείκεια) as well as good character in human beings. He then adds his opinion that the best laws are not those which make people wealthiest, but those by which they become most kind in character (ἐπιεικεστάτους τοῖς ἤθεσι) and best suited to be citizens (I.93.2, 93.4).

In the historical section of the *Bibliotheke*, lenient behaviour is further emphasized. Diodorus employs the same wording cited previously, but he also substitutes ἐπιείκως with φιλανθρώπως. I shall survey here many of the examples since, in my opinion, the similarities in content and phrasing as well as the frequency and the contexts in which this notion appears are clear indications of Diodorus' own work. First, cases in which the formula ἐπιεικῶς with προσφέρειν is found. The Athenians, in their fear of a great war against Sparta (475 BCE), made preparations: they built more vessels, raised money and treated their allies kindly, τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέροντο (XI.50.8). But when they gained power, they no longer behaved towards their allies with moderation, τοῖς συμμάχοις … ἐπιεικῶς ἐχρῶντο (XI.70.3). In the last example Diodorus uses the verb χρᾶν instead of προσφέρειν; he does so elsewhere in the historical part of his work, as we shall see below. Criticism of Athens' behaviour is alluded

[53] See also I.64.9, 65.3, 95.1, 95.3, 95.4; II.46.2; III.61.4; IV.57.4; V.8.2, 14.1, 34.1, 59.6, 81.5. The idea is generally related to kings, but occasionally to peoples or the inhabitants of a city.

to also in the discussion of Themistocles' death: the city, renowned as most tolerant (ἐπιεικεστάτην), treated him with great cruelty (XI.59.3).[54]

The Spartans, facing resistance in the Peloponnesus, endeavoured to secure their position of leadership (421 BCE). They improved, for instance, their conduct of their allies, thus they treated them more kindly τοῖς … συμμάχοις ἐπιεικέστερον προσεφέροντο, and pacified the most hostile of them in gentle ways, ταῖς φιλανρωπίαις (XII.76.2; cf. XII.67.2; XV.28.2–4, 29.8, 31.1). Later, however, the Spartans lost their leadership in Greece because they had acted roughly and harshly towards their allies, in contrast to the men of previous generation, who had achieved fame for treating the conquered kindly and humanely, ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανρώπως προσεφέρόμενοι (XV.1.3; cf. XIV.2.1–2).

To Alexander the Great, Diodorus attributes clemency no fewer than six times, five of them with a wording similar to that used in the mythological section. Alexander behaved fairly, ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθείς, towards the surrendered Persian commanders (329/8 BCE), and gained great fame for his clemency, μεγάλην δόξαν ἐπιεικείας (XVII.76.1). A year earlier, the king arrived at Persis, taking some of the cities by force, winning over others by his own lenience, διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιείκειαν προσαγόμενος (XVII.73.1). We have already seen the use of προσάγειν in *medium* with ἐπιείκεια in the tale of Sesostris (I.54.2). The verb χρᾶν (also in *medium*) instead of προσφέρειν, as in the case of the Athenians mentioned above, appears when Diodorus writes that in his war against the Persians Alexander treated the captives with the utmost clemency, ἐπιεικέστατα χρώμενος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις (XXXII.4.3; cf. XVII.66.6). This virtue is also attested to in a description of the help offered by the Macedonian king to the Greeks who were carried away from their homes by the Persian kings. Meeting them on his way to Persis (330/329 BCE), Alexander eased their pain in accordance with his kindness, ἀκολούθως τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιεικείᾳ (XVII.69.9). Sopeithes, an Indian king, regained his kingdom after his surrender to Alexander (326/5 BCE), due to the conqueror's clemency, διὰ τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπιείκειαν (XVII.91.7).

Philip II, the father of Alexander, won Macedon from the Illyrians by his sagacity as a commander whereas, treating the vanquished in a kindly manner, ἐπιεικῶς προσφερόμενος τοῖς κρατηθεῖσιν, he made it the strongest in Europe (XXXII.4.1). Furthermore, those who struggled

[54] Dealing with the Athenians' consent to aid the Spartans, their bitter enemies, Diodorus refers again to the Athenians' kindness. He uses μεγαλόψυχος and φιλάνθρωπος to describe the Athenian demos (XV.63.2).

with him for the hegemony of Greece willingly entrusted with him the authority, due to his tolerance, διὰ τὴν … ἐπιείκειαν, towards them. Through a single humane act, διὰ μιᾶς φιλανθρωπίας, namely taking care of the burial of the Athenians who were slain in battle and releasing the captives, Philip achieved the position that he had failed to gain in many battles and hardships (XXXII.4.1–2). Similar conduct is ascribed to Cassander who, treating all gently, ἐπιεικῶς προσφερόμενος πᾶσι, and acting to carry out his affairs during the Diadochian War, won many supporters to his sovereignty (XVIII.75.2).

The concept according to which victors should handle the vanquished with clemency, though slightly changed in its phrasing, is particularly stressed with regard to Rome. In fact, Diodorus mentions it in a Roman context at least ten times. The verb προσφέρειν is replaced by χρᾶν, but sometimes ἐπιεικῶς/ἐπιείκεια are the only words remaining from the usual formula. In the fragments of a speech, which was delivered in the senate in support of the treaty drawn up by Scipio at the end of the Second Punic War, it is said that the man who treats the fallen kindly, ἐπιεικῶς χρησάμενος, deserves similar consideration in the vicissitudes of his life (XXVII.15.3; cf. 15.1). In another speech, which may be a part of Cato's oration in defence of Rhodes in 167 BCE, one finds the following statement: we all agree with those who conduct themselves fairly, ἐπιεικῶς χρωμένους, and we are offended by men who hastily punish the vanquished (XXXI.3.1). The Romans, says Diodorus, acquired their empire by the valour of their arms, whereas by treating the surrendered in a most lenient manner, ἐπιεικέστατα χρώμενοι τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσιν, they extended its influence. He adds that the Romans dealt with the conquered not as enemies, but as if they were benefactors and friends (XXXII.4.4). Indeed, this is precisely the idea that I have noted earlier concerning Philip II. It constitutes an essential part of Diodorus' theory of the rise and fall of empires. In a fragment of the *prooemium* of Book XXXII Diodorus states that those whose aim is to gain control over others, use valour and sagacity to get it; clemency and humanity, ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, to expand it, and terror to secure it. The proofs of this suggestion are to be found, according to Diodorus, in the history of ancient empires as well as in the history of Rome which succeeded them (XXXII.2).[55]

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[55] It seems as though Diodorus contradicts himself. As noted previously, he explains the fall of both Athens and Sparta in their harsh treatment of their allies once they had gained power. Sacks (1990, pp. 42–46, 158), who already noticed Diodorus' extensive

On several occasions Diodorus remarks that moderation towards other people is the Roman traditional mode. Describing a delegation sent by Antiochus III to the consul after his defeat in 189 BCE, Diodorus adds that the consul consented to his plea for peace, adhering to the hereditary clemency of Rome, τὴν πάτριον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιείκειαν (XXIX.10). In 63 BCE, while in Damascus settling a dispute between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus over the kingship of Judea, Pompey postponed his resolution concerning their rivalry, but rebuked Hyrcanus for the wrongs he had committed both against the Romans and the Jews. He asserted that Hyrcanus and his followers deserved a graver punishment; nevertheless, if they were obedient henceforth he would grant them pardon, due to the hereditary clemency of the Romans, διὰ τὴν πάτριον ἐπιείκειαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων (XL.2). Showing moderation towards compliant people as opposed to vengeance on those who resisted them is manifested again in the account of the events of Spain in 138/7 BCE (XXXIII.26.2).

In these last instances the only word remaining from Diodorus' formula is ἐπιείκεια. Nonetheless, the idea itself is made clear. The life of Scipio Asiaticus was saved during the Civil War by the mercy (διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν) of Sulla, who sent horsemen to escort him to a place of his choice (XXXVIII.16).[56] In XXXVII.13.2 one may find the adjective ἐπιείκής alone. Domitius, encountering the Marsic leader Pompaedius, who was on his way to Rome with an army to demand the Roman citizenship (91 BCE), convinced him to give up violence and to approach the senate in a peaceful manner. With mild words, ἐπιεικέσι λόγοις, he converted Pompaedius' rebellious intentions into an attitude of good will. Domitius, says Diodorus, succeeded where his colleague Servilius had failed, because the latter had treated the allies as slaves. Of special interest is the case of XXXI.7–9. Discussing the defeat of Perseus in 167 BCE, Diodorus relates repeatedly to Rome's equity towards the subjugated king, the Macedonians and other peoples. In order to depict the Roman behaviour, he employs the words φιλανθρώπως (7.1, 9.3), φιλανθρωπία (8.1), ἐπιείκής (7.1, 9.4, 9.5, 9.7) and μεγαλοψύχως with

use of the words ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία, argues that this distinction does exist since Diodorus deals with the Romans, who hitherto had not lost their empire, though they began to use terror. According to Sacks it is also possible that Diodorus' argument that hegemons who stop ruling with clemency are destined to lose their supremacy was intended as a warning to Rome. See also below, in a comparison with Polybius' views.

[56] See Dowling 2000, pp. 319–323.

προσφέρειν (8.2, 8.4).[57] Rome's clemency is by far the most celebrated in the *Bibliotheke*.

Clemency, in Diodorus' eyes, is also a criterion by which he evaluates the abilities of leaders. In the popular assembly, which was summoned in Syracuse in order to discuss the fate of the Athenian captives (413 BCE), a man named Nicolaus opposed a proposal to execute them. He said that those who aspire to leadership should not furnish themselves with arms so much as they should show themselves moderates (ἐπιεικεῖς) in their character (XIII.21.8).[58] Epameinondas, the Theban commander who found his death in a battle against Sparta (363/2 BCE), surpassed his contemporaries, according to Diodorus, not only in skill and military experience, but also in clemency and magnanimity (ἐπιεικείᾳ τε καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ) (XV.88.1, 88.3). Demetrius II Nicator imposed terror on the populace of Syria. He followed in the footsteps of his father, who did not show royal fairness (βασιλικὴν ἐπιείκειαν). Thus the kings of this dynasty were hated by their subjects, while those of a rival house were loved for their lenience (διὰ τὴν ἐπιείκειαν) (XXXIII.4.4). In his sixth book Diodorus quotes Euhemerus, who says that Uranus was the first to be king and that he was a clement man (ἐπιεικῆ … ἄνδρα) as well as beneficent (VI.1.8). The rule of Gelon, too, is assessed by this same criterion, as Diodorus characterizes it as fair, using the adverb ἐπιεικῶς (XI.38.1).

Surprisingly enough, Julius Caesar is referred to as merciful only once. Diodorus' choice of words, however, confirms his admiration of the

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[57] See also XXVI.14.2 and XXIX.31. Referring to the Roman moderation towards the vanquished, Diodorus uses different phrasing, employing words such as εὐσέβεια and μετριότης.

[58] The speech of Nicolaus, as reconstructed by Diodorus, is a rather long one (XIII.20.1–27.6) and contains various terms to denote moderate behaviour towards other people. See also XIII.23.4, 25.1, 27.4: φιλανθρωπία; 26.3, 27.1: φιλάνθρωπος. In XIII.19.5 Diodorus summarizes the speech of another Syracusan, who asserted that a better thing than victory is to bear the victory humanely, ἀνθρωπίνως. For Diodorus' use of these terms in this passage, see de Romilly 1979, pp. 156–158. For a discussion of Nicolaus' speech, see Sacks 1990, pp. 101–103. It is worth noting that Diodorus recounts also the oration of a general sent by the Spartans, who urged the Syracusans to punish the Athenian captives severely as suggested by Diocles, a notable leader of theirs. Diodorus ends the discussion by saying that the assembly approved the proposal of Diocles and describes the miserable fate of the hostages (XIII.28.1–33.1). He does not offer any judgement nor does he reveal his own opinion. In the following sentences (XIII.33.2–3), however, he relates to Diocles' "reversal of fortune", that is the wretched manner in which he ended his life. One may find in this supplement a hint to Diodorus' own view on the subject.

Roman dictator in this case. Relating to his restoration of Corinth in 44 BCE, Diodorus states that Caesar showed a high degree of clemency, τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς … ἐπιεικείας. The author goes on to say that Caesar, by his own kindness, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἡμερότητος, made amends for the harsh behaviour of his forefathers towards the city, preferring forgiveness rather than punishment, προκρίνας τῆς τιμωρίας τὴν συγγνώμην (XXXII.27.3). The last expression, with the infinitive προκρίνειν instead of a participle, is found in XXI.14.2–3. Having described the capture of Thebes by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and adding that he dealt magnanimously, προσηνέχθη … μεγαλοψύχως, with the Boeotians, Diodorus remarks that on the whole it is advantageous to mete out forgiveness rather than punishment. Elsewhere it is said that Poliorcetes arrested those who opposed his rule. Nevertheless, he let them go unharmed, asserting that forgiveness is preferable to punishment, συγγνώμη τιμωρίας αἱρετωτέρα (XXI.9). The same idea and the very same words can be traced in a speech, which may be Cato's, as mentioned above (XXXI.3.1), and in a citation of Pittacus of Mitylene, who set free the poet Alcaeus, his enemy (IX.12.3). In XXI.21.8 one may find it in somewhat different terms. In this chapter, possibly dealing partly with a debate that took place in Tarentum (where the inhabitants considered asking Pyrrhus' aid against the Romans) and partly with the conversation of Pyrrhus and Cineas of Thessaly,[59] Diodorus states that among humans clemency has an advantage over anger, benefaction over punishment, προτερεῖ … ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τῆς ὀργῆς, ἡ εὐεργεσία τῆς τιμωρίας. This notion, appearing quite a few times in the historical part (see also XXIV.10.2, the behaviour of Hanno in Hecatompylus), is alluded to only once in the first five books. Heracles, as noted previously, persuaded the sons of Phineus to refrain from inflicting punishment (τιμωρία) upon their stepmother (IV.43.3).

A phrasing in which the adverb φιλανθρώπως replaces ἐπιεικῶς is also found frequently throughout the historical portion of the *Bibliotheke*. In Gelon's case one may find both versions: he treated the vanquished moderately, χρησάμενος … ἐπιεικῶς τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσι, and conducted himself humanely, προσενεχθεὶς φιλανθρώπως, towards his neighbours (XI.67.2). In words similar to those of the second version Diodorus describes the behaviour of Hermocrates of Syracuse, who took care of the burial of the dead thus gaining the support of the

[59] Walton 1957, vol. 11, p. 39 n. 5.

masses (XIII.75.4); Antipater, one of Alexander's generals, who showed clemency towards the Athenians after their surrender (XVIII.18.4); Antigonus Monophthalmus, who treated deserters of Lysimachus' army kindly (XX.113.3); L. Aemilius Paullus, who dealt fairly with Perseus, the defeated king of Macedon (XXX.23.2); and Eumenes who, fighting the other *Diadochi*, spared the lives of his mutineering soldiers, but executed their leaders (XVIII.40.4).

It is rather significant that an identical wording appears in various books and in different contexts. Yet I would like to introduce a few more examples before concluding. Having captured Amphipolis, Philip II exiled those of the inhabitants who were ill-disposed towards him, but he treated the rest humanely, φιλανθρώπως προσηνέχθη (XVI.8.2). The same expression is found in the case of Alexander, who showed clemency towards the Milesians after their surrender, but sold as slaves the Persians, who sought refuge in the city (XVII.22.5);[60] it is also attributed to Cimon, the Athenian commander, in describing his treatment of the conquered cities of Cyprus in 450 BCE (XII.3.3).

The moderate conduct of Ptolemy I is mentioned three times. He occupied Egypt and treated the inhabitants gently, φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο (XVIII.14.1); the gods, according to Diodorus, saved him from danger during the war because of his clemency (ἐπιείκεια) towards his friends (XVIII.28.6); finally, Ptolemy is depicted as a benefactor and a kind man (εὐεργετικὸς καὶ ἐπιεικής), unlike Perdiccas (XVIII.33.3). φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο are also the words which Diodorus uses with respect to Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse. He showed kindness towards the Messenians, since they welcomed him when he approached their city with his army. Later, however, he changed his attitude and put to death those who had opposed his rule (XIX.102.5). The Spartans went through a different transformation. Noticing that their allies were about to secede, the Spartans put an end to their severity and began to treat them humanely, φιλανθρώπως προσεφέροντο (XV.31.1).[61] The

60 Pardoning people who had surrendered, while punishing only a group among them appears elsewhere in Diodorus' work. See III.65.7: Dionysus punished the impious, but handled other human beings leniently. This practice is already mentioned by Thucydides, in the case of Mitylene's revolt, for instance (III.36.1–50.3). Putting forward the arguments of the Athenian Diodotus in favour of clement behaviour towards the Mitylenaeans, Thucydides even uses the word ἐπιείκεια (III.48.1), and the word appears twice in Cleon's speech against this conduct (III.40.3).

61 Phintias, a Sicilian tyrant, altered his behaviour in a similar fashion; by a more humane rule he regained control over his subjects (XXII.2.4). The Roman Atilius Regulus and Orophernes of Cappadicia, however, failed to do so (XXIII.15.2; XXXI.32.1). In these

behaviour of Seleucus I, on the other hand, was moderate throughout his campaign in the east. Having gained control of a large army and bearing himself fairly (φιλανθρώπως ... προσφερόμενος) towards all, he managed to win over easily many peoples (XIX.92.5).

Whether employing ἐπιείκεια or φιλανθρωπία, Diodorus obviously meant to lay emphasis on one and the same theme: clemency is the appropriate way to treat other peoples in general and a defeated enemy in particular. It is held as a virtue among human beings and as a beneficent policy for rulers. Moderate behaviour, according to Diodorus, helps leaders to maintain their sovereignty and to strengthen it, while cruelty provokes rebellion and leads to decadence. Similarities occur also in the author's language. The formula ἐπιεικῶς + προσφέρειν, for instance, reappears in Books I III IV XI XII XV XVII XXXII, whereas φιλανθρώπως + προσφέρειν is found in III XI XII XIII XV XVI XVII XVIII XIX XX. Needless to say that in these books Diodorus makes use of a large variety of sources. The frequent repetition of this notion and its dispersal throughout the *Bibliotheke* attest, therefore, to an independent work of Diodorus under the impact of contemporary events. Who else would have mentioned Agyrium in this respect? Relating to Phintias' cruelty towards the Sicilians prior to the change in his conduct mentioned earlier, Diodorus names his hometown as the first to revolt (XXII.2.3).[62]

The meanings assigned by Diodorus to the words ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία reinforce this supposition. Although we may translate them in various ways, it seems that in Diodorus' narrative the terms are usually used as a replacement for the Latin *clementia*.[63] In two other works, which

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instances we may find the words φιλανθρωπία or φιλάνθρωπος but without the verb προσφέρειν. So is the case of Hiero, who took care of the Roman soldiers that survived a storm on their return from Africa. Here only φιλανθρώπως is found (XXIII.18.1).

[62] See Drews 1962, pp. 383–392, who does not attribute much creativity to Diodorus, not even for the speech of Nicolaus (XIII.20–27), though it is clear that it was not derived from Ephorus, his source for this book. Compare with Sacks 1990, pp. 35–36, 42–45, 101–106, 125 n. 32, 153, who argues in favour of innovation on Diodorus' part along with the material taken from his sources.

[63] For ἐπιείκεια as *clementia*, see Gelzer 1963, p. 47 n. 22; Dowling 2006, pp. 3–8. For the development of the word, see de Romilly 1979, pp. 53–63 and also de Romilly 1974, pp. 95–100. For the correspondence of ἐπιείκεια with φιλανθρωπία, see Sacks 1990, pp. 78–79. For the word *clementia*, see Weinstock 1971, pp. 233–243; he notes that it is not an old word and that it has many synonyms, such as *misericordia* and *mansuetudo*. Yet *clementia* was in frequent use during the Civil Wars and the rule of Caesar; as a result it became a political term (pp. 235–237). See also Dowling 2006, pp. 5–8. For the *clementia Caesaris* and the development of the term see, for example, Treu 1948, pp. 197–217; Stauffer 1966, pp. 34–44; Leggewie 1958, pp. 17–36; Rambaud 1966, pp. 283–293; Adam

relate to affairs of the first century BCE, ἐπιείκεια evidently translates *clementia*. According to the Latin version of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, the inscription of a golden shield, which was placed in the Curia Julia in honour of Augustus, indicates that it was given to him on account of his valour, clemency, justice and piety: *virtutis clementiae iustitiae pietatis caussa*. Against this, we find the Greek translation: διὰ … ἀρετὴν καὶ *ἐπείκειαν* καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν (*Mon. Anc.*, 34). The second work is Plutarch's biography of Caesar. Referring to the temple that was erected in honour of *clementia Caesaris*, Plutarch calls it τῆς Ἐπιεικείας ἱερόν (*Caes.*, 57.3). It is possible, therefore, that interpreting ἐπιείκεια as clemency was a common practice in the first century BCE, and especially during the time of Caesar. The latter, having defeated his enemies, both Roman and foreign, and having taken captives, excelled in his tolerance towards them.[64] Diodorus was probably motivated by Caesar's conduct. The frequent references to moderate behaviour towards the captives and the vanquished in particular also attest to that. Further support will be found in an examination of the manner in which other Hellenistic authors deal with the notion of clemency.

Polybius argues that the success achieved by Philip II following his victory over the Athenians in Chaeronea was not so much because of his arms, but due to the clemency and humanity of his character, διὰ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τῶν τρόπων (V.10.1). In addition to the obvious use of the same words, Diodorus, like Polybius, expresses at least twice the advantages of moderate behaviour over the force of arms (XIII.21.8; XXXII.4.4). In the next sentences Polybius elaborates on this perception, asserting that Philip II gained control over the Athenians and achieved their cooperation through his kindness and moderation. He employs a large variety of words to describe the king's behaviour: εὐγνωμοσύνη, μετριότης, πραότης, καλοκαγαθία and μεγαλοψυχία (V.10.2–5).[65] Polybius uses the case of Philip II and that of his son Alexander

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1970, pp. 82–88; Yavetz 1983, pp. 174–176; Alföldi 1985, vol. 1, pp. 173–386; Konstan 2005, pp. 337–346 (opposing the views of Syme 1958, vol. 1, pp. 414–415 and Earl 1967, pp. 60–61); Dowling 2006, pp. 20–28 and passim. For the application of the term in the principate, see Levick 1975, pp. 123–137; Levick 1990, pp. 89–90; Dowling 2006, passim. In light of the present discussion, one might wonder why Diodorus is missing from Adam's examples of Greek authors, who use ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία, the Greek synonyms of *clementia*.

64 See below in this chapter and also Part II Capter 6, pp. 311–312.

65 Diodorus, too, refers to Philip's conduct in 338 BCE. Like Polybius, he mentions the release of the Athenian captives without ransom and notes that the king did not display any arrogance of a victor. Nevertheless, Diodorus abstains from interpolating one of

(who avoided damaging temples and any other holy places during his campaigns) as a role model, one which Philip V did not follow, for he did not inherit his ancestors' high principles nor their magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) (V.10.9). Comparing a king with a tyrant, Polybius claims that a king earns the devotion of his subjects through his good deeds and humanity, διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν (V.11.6). In his opinion, if Philip V had refrained from brutal operations against the Aetolians in 218 BCE, he would have gained their appreciation for acting out of his gentleness (πραότης) and magnanimity (V.11.9). It is better, says Polybius, to overcome an enemy by kindness (καλοκαγαθία) and justice, than by arms (V.12.2). Polybius, to be sure, deals in three chapters with the importance of clemency in a leader's character; yet ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία appear only once. In general, whereas ἐπιείκεια is highly formulaic in Diodorus' narrative, Polybius seldom uses it.[66]

These two words are missing even when Polybius explains that the best way to preserve one's dominion is to adhere to the same principles—namely moderation—by which it was originally established. There are many instances, he adds, in which men, demonstrating good will (εὖ ποιοῦντες), obtained their supremacy, but then changed their character and started to treat their subjects badly. By so doing they caused their subjects also to alter their disposition towards them (X.36.5–7). When Diodorus discusses this doctrine, in XXXII.2 for example, he employs both ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία, though obviously using Polybius as a source.[67]

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his formulae concerning clemency. It is interesting, however, to see Diodorus' phrasing concerning the hostages: πάντας ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ λύτρων (XVI.87.3), in comparison with Polybius: χωρὶς λύτρων ἀποστείλας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους (V.10.4). The differences are obvious.

[66] To be more or less precise, the noun, the adjective and the adverb of the same stem appear all together nine times in Polybius' work. We should also bear in mind the variety of meanings and context (in VI.26.8, for example, ἐπιεικῶς means "probably"). The 126 times that all the above forms appear in Diodorus demonstrate the difference.

[67] But cf. XIV.2.1, where Diodorus expresses a similar thought without his characteristic terms. Walbank 1967a, vol. 2, pp. 246–247 relates to the alleged contradiction between Diodorus' words in XXXII.2, according to which those who wish to gain control over others use valour and sagacity to get it, clemency and humanity to extend it, and terror to secure it, and Polybius' view in X.36.5–7, albeit the fact that Polybius is Diodorus' source. Walbank argues that Diodorus refers to a sudden and violent elimination of a state and its population as a punishment and example to others, while Polybius is concerned with people whom one is governing. Elsewhere, however, it seems that Polybius is willing to accept the theory as conveyed by Diodorus (XXXVI.9.3–4). For arguments in favour of Diodorus' independence of Polybius, see Sacks 1990, pp. 45–46.

Polybius depicts Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal, as a benefactor and a magnanimous man, εὐεργετικὸς καὶ μεγαλόψυχος (X.3.1). He cites the victor's words after the battle of Zama, according to which the Romans were not obliged to do anything humane (φιλάνθρωπον) for the Carthaginians, but decided to act gently (πρᾴως) and magnanimously (μεγαλοψύχως) for their own sake (XV.17.3–4). Relating to Scipio's negotiations for a truce during the war against Antiochus, Polybius states that he addressed the Aetolians in a more kindly and humane manner (πρᾳότηρον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον) (XXI.4.10). In the speech of another victorious Roman, Flamininus, who defeated Philip V in Cynoscephalae, Polybius states the conviction that men should be hard on their enemies in battle but when they conquer, they should be moderate, gentle and humane (μετρίους καὶ πραεῖς καὶ φιλανθρώπους) (XVIII.37.7). Polybius further notes (in a chapter dealing with Perseus' defeat) that it was the traditional Roman custom to show themselves most severe facing defeat, and as moderate as possible (ὡς μετριωτάτους) after success (XXVII.8.8). Diodorus was well aware of this tradition. He mentions it twice, as noted, when discussing the war with Antiochus and in his description of Pompey's affairs in the east; unlike Polybius, however, he refers to it as πάτριος ἐπιείκεια (XXIX.10; XL.2).

Diodorus, as noticed previously, emphasizes Rome's lenience towards Perseus, the defeated king of Macedon. Polybius relates to Rome's moderate behaviour after the Third Macedonian War in three different places in his work. First, in the speech of Aemilius Paullus, who argued that it is at a moment of success that the Romans must think of the opposite fortune; for only in this way can they be moderate (μέτριον) in time of victory (XXIX.20.2–3). Diodorus, whose citations of the Roman commander correspond almost word for word with those of Polybius, adds that Paullus conducted himself humanely (φιλανθρώπως προσενεχθεὶς) towards Perseus (XXX.23.2).[68] Secondly, the Romans, according to Polybius, showed gentleness and magnanimity (πρᾳότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν) towards Cotys, the king of the Odrysae; they released his son who was taken captive at the end of the war, wishing at the same time to attach the king to them by this grace (διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος) (XXX.17.1–4). Thirdly, the senate, considering Rome's best interest, decided not to answer kindly (φιλανθρώπως) Eumenes of Pergamum,

[68] Cf. a fragment preserved by Strabo (VII.7.3 C 322 = Polyb., XXX.15), in which Polybius says that Paullus destroyed seventy cities in Epirus and sold as slaves thousands of people without any reference to his kind behaviour or, rather, to the lack of it.

who came to Italy during that time (XXX.19.4). The last case is the only one in which we can observe any resemblance to Diodorus' phrasings;[69] ἐπιείκεια, however, is absent from all three. The same is true of Polybius' assessment of Greek opinions regarding Rome's conduct towards Carthage in 146 BCE. Some, says Polybius, thought that the Romans acted too severely, neglecting the principles by which they had gained their domination, as did Athens and Sparta before them (XXXVI.9.5–8). In his version of many of the events related to by Polybius—including the Spartans' defeat by the Thebans and their consequent loss of hegemony in Greece because they had abused their power (Polyb., XXXVIII.2.7–8 = Diod., XV.1.3)—Diodorus interpolates either ἐπιείκεια or φιλανθρωπία or both.

The closer we get to Diodorus' time, the more frequent the theme of clemency becomes. This is particularly true of Latin writings. The reason is quite clear: Julius Caesar's statements that he would treat his opponents with moderation, as well as his deeds during the Civil Wars, proved that this was indeed his intention. Caesar put that in writing himself. In a letter sent to Oppius and Balbus after the defeat of Pompey in Corfinium and the release of his captured officers, he states that he had made up his mind to act with the utmost gentleness (*lenissimum*) and to make an effort to become reconciled with Pompey. Emphasizing that he would not follow in the footsteps of Sulla, who used cruelty to secure his rule, he speaks of a new way of conquering, namely to strengthen one's position by mercy and generosity (*misericordia et liberalitate*) (Cic., *Att.*, IX.7c, cf. IX.16). Elsewhere Caesar describes his words to Pompey's soldiers after the battle of Pharsalus; trying to relieve their fears, he spoke of his own gentleness (*de lenitate sua*) and his intention to preserve their lives (*B Civ.*, III.98).

The word *clementia*, the equivalent of ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία, is missing from Caesar's writings, but one can find it in Cicero, who refers to the same events. His letters to Atticus reveal a keen interest in this aspect of Caesar's behaviour. In one of them Cicero doubts Caesar's frankness

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[69] See also Polyb., XXX.19.16 and Diod., XXXI.7.1: the senate received kindly envoys from all quarter who arrived at Rome to offer congratulations on the victory. Polybius writes ἅπασιν οἰκείως ἀπήντησε καὶ *φιλανθρώπως*, whereas Diodorus says *φιλανθρώπως* ἅπαντας ἀποδεχομένη καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις *ἐπιεικεῖς* διδοῦσα. It should also be noticed that Books XXX–XXXI of Diodorus which deal with the Third Macedonian War and its aftermath are highly fragmentary. Cotys is mentioned in XXX.3.1, while the senate's suspicions of Eumenes are noted in XXXI.7.2. Diodorus does not refer to clement behaviour in any of these cases.

and fears that all this clemency (*omnis haec clementia*) would eventually turn into cruelty; in another he claims that people are delighted with the treacherous clemency (*insidiosa clementia*) of Caesar (*Att.*, VIII.9, 16). Cicero further writes that Caesar was not averse to cruelty; he merely assumed that through *clementia* he would win popularity (*Att.*, X.4). In a previous letter, however, Cicero informs Atticus that he had sent an epistle to Caesar, in which he praised his clemency (*eius clementia*) at Corfinium (*Att.*, IX.16, cf. VIII.13).

Sallust, also a contemporary author, does not question the sincerity of Caesar's intentions. In his comparison of Caesar and Cato Minor, Sallust argues that the former became distinguished by means of his mildness and mercy (*mansuetudine et misericordia*), and achieved glory by giving, supporting and forgiving (*ignoscundo*) (*Cat.*, 54.2–3). The broader vocabulary is further evidence of the growing interest in this topic.

Augustus adopted a similar trait, though it is evident that he showed mercy only when his position as the sole ruler of Rome was secured. Augustus refers to his clemency in his *Res Gestae*, saying that when victorious (Actium is probably meant) he spared all those who had asked for pardon (*Mon. Anc.*, 3). He uses the term *clementia* itself, as noted above, telling of an inscription on a golden shield which attests that it was given to him owing to his valour, clemency, justice and piety (*Mon. Anc.*, 34). An almost identical wording is found in an inscription dated 26 BCE (*CIL*, IX.5811 = *ILS*, 82). Clemency as policy, with a clear allusion to Augustus, appears in a famous verse of Virgil's *Aeneid* (VI.853), composed after the battle of Actium: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, that is "to spare the surrendered and to suppress the arrogant".

Velleius Paterculus, whose work reflects features of the Augustan era, mentions the idea of clemency more than once. Comparing Scipio Aemilianus with Scipio Africanus (his grandfather by adoption), Velleius states that he made Carthage, which had been a monument to his grandfather's clemency (*quod fuerat avi eius clementiae*), a monument to his own valour (I.12.5). Prior to his discussion of the battle of Pharsalus, the author explains that although the limits of his work would not permit him to describe the battle meticulously, there is one detail which he cannot overlook. Caesar's first concern after Pompey's defeat, says Velleius, was to assure the vanquished that he would spare their lives. Yet his gift of mercy (*munus misericordiae*) was corrupted by stubbornness, since the conqueror was readier to grant life than the conquered to accept it (II.52.4–6). Moreover, Velleius sums up his brief discourse

of Caesar's achievements in Africa remarking that the clemency of Caesar (*clementia Caesaris*) towards the vanquished was no different than his lenience towards those whom he had defeated in his previous wars (II.55.2). Octavian's victory in Actium was, according to Velleius, most clement (*clementissima*). He further recounts that Octavian promised to pardon Antony's troops and that no one was put to death save for a few who did not plead with the victor. An interesting statement then follows. Velleius asserts that from this lenience (*ex qua lenitate*) it may be inferred how Octavian would have behaved at the beginning of the triumvirate or in the battle of Philippi, had he been allowed to do so (II.85.4–5, 86.2). The historian's reference to Octavian's cruelty prior to his triumph in Actium is quite clear and accords well with the *princeps*' own disregard of those years in his *Res Gestae*. Velleius adds an example for Octavian's display of clemency: in the case of Sosius he had long struggled with his clemency (*cum clementia … sua*) for he wanted to punish him, but eventually refrained from harming him (II.86.2). In the concluding chapter of his discussion of the Civil Wars, Velleius speaks of the moderation showed by Octavian while fighting. It was Octavian's *clementia* that saved the lives of those who had borne arms against him, whereas Antony's cruelty ended the lives of Decimus Brutus and Sextus Pompey. Octavian, in Velleius' opinion, was not responsible for the death of Brutus, Cassius, Antony or Cleopatra (II.87.2–3).

Strabo, writing about the same time, does not dwell on the aspect of clemency in a leader's character. We might have expected him to do so, for instance, when he explains that it is difficult to govern an empire as great as the Romans' other than by turning it over to one man, as to a father. On the same occasion he remarks that never had the Romans and their allies enjoyed peace and prosperity as they did under Augustus and Tiberius, his successor, who saw in his father's administration a role model (VI.4.2 C 288). Moderate behaviour is not mentioned in Strabo's several references to the battle of Actium (VII.7.6 C 325; X.5.3 C 485; XVII.1.11 C 797), or in his description of an appeal of Ethiopian ambassadors to Augustus, who not only agreed to put an end to the war against them, but reduced the tributes which he had imposed (XVII.1.54 C 821). Authors such as Diodorus and Velleius Paterculus were probably praising Caesar's clemency when they stated that he and his followers acted moderately (ἐμετρίασαν) towards Massilia as well as granting the city its autonomy (IV.1.5 C 181), or when mentioning Caesar's victory over Pompey's men in Ilerda (III.4.10 C 161). Strabo, however, does not discuss this clemency in Caesar's conduct.

Scrutinizing other figures that Strabo dealt with further underlines the difference between him and Diodorus. The latter, describing the victory of Philip II in Chaeronea, employs terms such as ἐπιεικῶς, ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία to explain the reason for the Mcedonian king's success in Greece (XXXII.4.1–2). Strabo, on the other hand, simply says that the king defeated Athens, Boeotia and Corinth in a great battle and set himself up as the governor of Greece (IX.2.37 C 414). Diodorus argues that the Indian Sopeithes recovered his kingdom due to Alexander's clemency (ἐπιείκεια) (XVII.91.7), while Strabo describes the encounter between Alexander and Sopeithes with no reference to the king's lenience (XV.1.30–31 C 699–700). As for mythological figures, Strabo mentions the campaigns of Dionysus and Heracles, for instance, but he offers no information regarding their behaviour towards peoples which they either visited or conquered (e.g. I.3.2 C 48; III.5.5 C 171; XV.1.5–9 C 686–688).

Interestingly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was Strabo's contemporary, was concerned with tolerance in the conduct of individuals and states. He makes an extensive use of ἐπιείκεια, φιλανθρωπία and related adjectives and adverbs. In his *Romaike Archaiologia* one may detect several instances which correspond well with some of Diodorus' ideas. Apart from the terms mentioned, however, Dionysius does not employ Diodorus' formula. To give a few examples, in III.38.3 it is said that Marcius Ancus, the fourth king of Rome, having captured Ficana, transferred all the inhabitants to Rome, but caused the city no other harm; thus acting in a manner more lenient (ἐπιεικέστερον) than wise, for later he was compelled to make a second war on the same city which was resettled. Servius Tullius, the sixth of the kings, is also depicted as a clement and moderate man (ἐπιεικὴς δὲ καὶ μέτριος ἀνὴρ) (IV.40.3). Under his rule Rome showed clemency (ἐπιείκεια) and moderation (μετριότης) towards hostile people who yielded their sovereignty and admitted their faults (IV.27.5). This notion, which we have already seen in Diodorus, appears also in V.60.1: the consul who set out against the Fidenates replied to their request for a truce that they should lay down their arms and open their gates; otherwise they would get neither peace nor anything humane or moderate (φιλάνθρωπον ἢ μέτριον) from Rome. The other consul of the same year, it is worth noting, was appointed to conduct the affairs in Rome for he was clement (ἐπιεικής) and affable (δημοτικός) (V.59.1). In XII.6.3 one may find a statement which bears a most striking resemblance to Diodorus; Dionysius asserts that it is better for people to overcome their enemies through humane acts (ταῖς

φιλανθρωπίαις) rather than in punishments (τιμωρίαις). Diodorus, as we recall, says on several occasions that it is better to offer forgiveness than to mete out punishment. This time, however, it is Diodorus who does not use either ἐπιείκεια or φιλανθρωπία. Another concept that we may see in both Diodorus and Dionysius is fair treatment of captives. In a speech rewritten by Dionysius, a Roman envoy made an appeal to Pyrrhus to make a merciful (ἐπιεικές) decision and to release the prisoners; Pyrrhus answered that in order to be the first to suggest an act of humanity (τῶν φιλανθρώπων), he would let the captives (τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους) go without ransom (XIX.18.8).

The search for the motif of clemency within the works of authors who wrote at about the same time as Diodorus revealed some interesting findings. Both Virgil and Velleius Paterculus speak in praise of the Roman leaders who had shown mercy. Their inspiration presumably lies in Augustus' efforts to create for himself after Actium an image of a clement commander and to present himself in Rome as a moderate ruler, as Julius Caesar had been. Strabo, a native of Amasia in Pontus, was engaged composing his *Geographia* roughly in the same years as Virgil and during most of Velleius' time, though the latter was younger than him; yet Strabo is not concerned with this virtue in the nature of a leader, whereas Dionysius (to whom Strabo himself refers as an author of his own time, XIV.2.16 C 656), who came to Rome from Halicarnassus after Actium, making it his permanent residence (as we have seen in his *Ant. Rom.*, I.7.2–3), showed more regard for this topic. Finally, Diodorus, a Sicilian by birth and apparently the oldest of them all, was writing under the impression of Caesar's deeds and the rise of Octavian; he highlights clemency as much as the Roman authors do and even more, as he ascribes to it, for instance, those figures that in other sources are not depicted as either moderate or humane. What may be the reason? It is easy enough to guess in the cases of Virgil and Velleius, both of them proud Roman men who enjoyed the patronage of their ruler. It is even feasible to comprehend the differences between Strabo and Dionysius. The latter settled at Rome, worked at Rome and wrote the history of Rome; Strabo, it is fair to say, merely visited, perhaps once extending his visit to nine years (44–35 BCE). It is not until 20 BCE that he came to Rome in order to stay.[70] Thus, although both authors appreciated the Roman

[70] For Strabo's dates, see recently Dueck 2000, pp. 85–86 with bibliography. One detail ought to be mentioned for our comparison with Dionysius: Like Dionysius, Strabo made

Empire,[71] enjoyed the friendship of prominent Roman men and moved in the same intellectual circle,[72] it was Dionysius who probably absorbed every aspect of Roman public life in the crucial years at the beginning of the Principate.

Yet Diodorus puts much more emphasis on moderate behaviour. For example, when Dionysius refers to the Spartans' defeat at Leuctra or to the Athenians' loss of leadership in Greece and their disaster at Chaeronea, he does not mention lack of clemency towards other peoples as a cause (*Ant. Rom.*, II.17.1–2). Furthermore, recounting the deeds of Heracles, including his voyage from Iberia to Italy during which he gained control of many cities by force of arms except some which yielded to him voluntarily, Dionysius does not describe any moderate conduct on the part of the hero (*Ant. Rom.*, I.34.1–35.3, 38.2–44.2); only once does the word φιλάνθρωπα appear, and that is when Dionysius says that Heracles established well-organized governments and humane and

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his way to Rome after Octavian's victory over Antony (X.5.3 C 485); unlike Dionysius, he left for Egypt soon after the triumph and resided in Alexandria for a few years (II.3.5 C 101).

[71] E.g. Dion. Hal., *Orat Vett.*, 3; *Ant. Rom.*, II.17.1–18.1; Strabo, I.1.22 C 13; VI.4.1–2 C 285–286.

[72] Both Dionysius and Strabo attest to that in their writings. Dionysius: *Ant. Rom.*, I.6.4–5, 7.3; *Ep. ad Amm.* II, 1 and *Thuc.*, 1, 55 (refers to his connections with Q. Aelius Tubero, himself a historian and the father of two consuls. Cf. *Ant. Rom.*, I.80.1 for his praise); *De Comp. Verb.*, 1, 26 (refers to his friendship with another Roman, the father of Metilius Rufus, a pupil of his); Strabo: XVII.1.46 C 816 (a specific reference to his association with Aelius Gallus, the *praefectus* of Egypt); II.5. 33 C 130 and XII.6.2 C 568 (allusions to an acquaintance with Cn. Calpurnius Piso, a consular and a friend of Augustus and Tiberius, and with P. Servilius Isauricus, who acted on behalf of the Romans in southern Asia Minor). See Rhys Roberts 1900, pp. 439–442; Bowersock 1965, pp. 123–134; Ogilvie 1965, pp. 16–17; Bonner 1969, pp. 2–10; Goold 1961, esp. pp. 172, 180–181, 189–192; Bowersock 1979, pp. 65–72; Hurst 1982, pp. 845–851; Gabba 1984, pp. 65–66; Rawson 1985, pp. 61–64, 97; Dueck 2000, pp. 87–88. It is tempting to compare Dionysius' words in *Ant. Rom.*, I.6.5, 7.3 with Diodorus' in I.4.2–4. Both historians express their gratitude for the assistance that they had received from the Romans, which obviously helped them to complete their task. Whereas Diodorus speaks of Rome's supremacy as a result of which the city had provided him with abundant resources, notes the access that he had to this material during his long residence there and mentions the contact of his native land with Rome which enabled him to get acquainted with Latin, Dionysius says that one of his reasons for writing Rome's history is to offer the city something in return for the education and other good things that he had enjoyed during his residence in the city, whose inhabitants he calls 'descendants of godlike men'. Furthermore, Dionysius, who also mentions that he studied Latin but during his stay in Rome, states that he obtained some of the information orally from most learned men with whom he associated. Dionysius' personal attitude and his deeper gratitude are apparent in his phrasings.

sociable modes of life instead of despotism (*Ant. Rom.*, I.41.1). One may also notice that when referring to the idea of kindness, Dionysius does not always employ ἐπιείκεια or φιλανθρωπία, Diodorus' favourite terms (e.g. *Ant. Rom.*, II.18.1–2).

What, then, motivated Diodorus to stress clemency as he did? As Sacks put it convincingly, he had no Roman patrons nor was he a member of a literary milieu as was Dionysius.[73] Yet, like Dionysius, he lived in Rome for a long period of time. There is, however, one fundamental difference: while Diodorus worked at Rome under the influence of the Civil Wars and their implications, Dionysius enjoyed the newly established *pax*.[74] I believe that here, as in the previous motif discussed, Diodorus was affected both by the issues that prevailed in the Roman public debate while composing his *Bibliotheke*, as well as by his admiration for Caesar.[75] Clemency in a leader's character was significant, especially in war, when the defeated had to depend on the mercy of the conqueror in order to survive. And Caesar, more than anyone else, knew how to use it. As a consequence, Diodorus, impressed and inspired, described both mythological and historical figures as clement. The Roman world, it appears, had a great impact on him.[76]

It remains for us to examine writings other than Hellenistic. We shall see that, as in the motif of deification, the frequent appearance of moderate behaviour of individuals and particularly of leaders is exclusive to works composed around the time of the *Bibliotheke*. This examination, in addition, will confirm the deduction made above, namely that it was the Roman world which inspired Diodorus. Herodotus, to begin with earlier authors, employs neither the noun ἐπιείκεια nor φιλανθρωπία. The adjective ἐπιεικής is to be found in his work, but with different meanings and contexts (I.85, II.22, III.53), while the adverb ἐπιεικέως, appearing only once, is used to describe the mild sweetness of a plant

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[73] See the detailed discussion in Sacks 1990, pp. 185–203.

[74] See Bowersock 1965, pp. 122–123 n. 2: "Diodorus cannot be considered an Augustan Author". (But cf. Ando 1999, pp. 23, 24 mentioned in the preceding chapter, p. 31 n. 24.)

[75] Sacks (1990, pp. 181–184) justly points out that many of the foremost Roman politicians at the end of the Republic strove for divine honour (thus, in my opinion, offers further confirmation for the assumption that Diodorus was inspired by the Roman affairs of his day), but admits that Diodorus was interested first and foremost in Caesar.

[76] It seems, however, that Diodorus' admiration for Julius Caesar and his leniency did not extend to Octavian, whose severe treatment of Sicily after the defeat of Sextus Pompey in 36 BCE he must have resented: see Rubincam 1987, pp. 327–328 and Sacks 1990, pp. 191–203.

(II.92).[77] Heroes such as Sesostris, Dionysus and Heracles are not presented by Herodotus as lenient. This is especially evident in the tale of Sesostris. Herodotus says that the Egyptian king set out for a journey during which he conquered many peoples, commemorating his achievements by monuments and inscriptions; yet the historian does not mention his kindness or gentleness towards the vanquished (II.102–106). Diodorus, as noted, ascribes compassion both to the Athenians and the Spartans, a sentiment which they lost when they gained power. In Herodotus' account of these two peoples, however, there is no reference to moderate behaviour whatsoever (V.63–93).

In the writings of Isocrates, who died just before Alexander succeeded to the throne, one may detect ideas similar to those expressed by Diodorus, especially with regard to the rise and fall of empires. For example, Isocrates argues that the disaster met with by the Spartans at Leuctra was caused by their crimes prior to the war, which resulted in the hatred of their allies. They achieved dominion of the sea due to their supremacy on land as well as their discipline and restraint, whereas by their arrogance they lost their power both on land and at sea. Acting this way, the Spartans no longer kept the laws of their ancestors. Isocrates continues to elaborate on this subject, naming also Athens as an example. He says that both Sparta and Athens enjoyed great respect when they governed themselves with the utmost temperance (σωφρονέστατα), but later, when they were corrupted by passions and committed crimes, they suffered calamities. In this long passage (*De Pace*, 100–115) he relates several times to the ill-treatment of allies as a cause for their misfortunes (100, 105, 115).

Much the same ideas may be seen in Diodorus. Yet, while the latter employs the words ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία repeatedly, Isocrates does not repeat any particular term. Εὔνοια (good will, kindness) is indeed an important word in his discourse; he uses it (and other parts of speech sharing the same stem) at least sixty times in various treatises.[78] However, it does not replace ἐπιείκεια or φιλανθρωπία utterly,[79]

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[77] See Powell 1966, s.v. ἐπιεικής.

[78] For the multifaceted meaning of εὔνοια and for its importance for Isocrates, see de Romilly 1958, 92–101. For Isocrates and gentleness towards the Greek cities, see also de Romilly 1979, pp. 159–173. For a scrutiny of *De Pace*, see Davidson 1990, pp. 20–36.

[79] εὔνοια, ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία might be synonyms. An elucidating example is found in Diodorus himself; in XI.67.2–4 he asserts that Gelon treated the vanquished kindly (ἐπιεικῶς), bore himself humanely (φιλανθρώπως) towards his neighbours and showed good will (εὔνοιαν) towards all the Greeks of Sicily. Nonetheless, Isocrates' discussion in the *Antidosis*, which I will introduce here, demonstrates other relation

nor does it appear every single time that Isocrates deals with this theme. We do not find it in the section of *De Pace* cited above, but we may find it in his *Antidosis*, where his phrasings include other terms which denote moderate behaviour on the part of a leader. Praising Timotheus for his conduct as a general, Isocrates asserts that the Athenian commander understood that it was because of the amity with others that Athens achieved greatness and prosperity, just as it was because of their hatred that she barely escaped a catastrophe. Thus Timotheus used the power of Athens to suppress her enemies, and his own character to win the good will (εὔνοια) of others (122; cf. *De Pace*, 140). This good will (εὔνοια), which a leader should achieve also at home, will eventually gain him unconditional support of the people (134). Furthermore, having conquered cities, Timotheus treated them gently (πράως). Isocrates sums up saying that, under Timotheus' leadership, one cannot name cities ruined, governments overthrown, and men murdered or exiled (127). In the next passages Isocrates reveals his own counsel to Timotheus, according to which an individual holding a public office and wishing to become successful must, *inter alia*, convince the people that he acts agreeably and humanely (φιλανθρώπως) (132). He employs also φιλανθρωπία, arguing that the multitude prefers those who cheat them with smiles to those who serve them with kindness (133). This account of the *Antidosis* clearly accords with Diodorus' ideal of clemency, yet we cannot find Diodorus' formula, or any other constantly stated formula for that matter, anywhere in Isocrates' discourse.[80] It is most likely that Diodorus was acquainted

between these terms: εὔνοια is the reward of a leader who acts φιλανθρώπως. Diodorus is even clearer. In II.28.6, for instance, he writes that when an act of clemency (τῆς ἐπιεικείας) which was performed by Arbaces of Media was noised about, he won the good will (εὔνοιαν) of his subjects as well as fame among the nations. See also two cases mentioned previously: XXXVII.13.2, where rebellious intentions were converted into good will by mild words; III.72.5, where Dionysus' dealings with Cronus and Rhea are discussed. See Sacks 1990, pp. 42–43 and n. 82.

[80] See also *Plataicus*, 39: victory in war is not for those who destroy cities, but for those who rule Greece in a more scrupulous and lenient manner (ὁσιώτερον καὶ πραότερον). Cf. *Panathenaicus*, 185. De Romilly (1977, p. 66) claims with much justification that Isocrates "is the first to discover the virtues of being fair and moderate to people". I do not think, however, that he had in mind some kind of a fixed phrasing which he employed in order to convey these virtues. Indeed, he uses words like πρᾶος and ἐπιεικής many times in his work and much more often than Herodotus and Thucydides who preceded him, as de Romilly rightly points out, yet the fact that the words ἐπιεικής/ἐπιεικῶς/ἐπιείκεια do not appear in any of the three cases which I have presented here (and which are highly representative of Isocrates' view) tells us that they were not so significant for expressing the notion, as implied by de Romilly. Unlike Diodorus, who uses ἐπιείκεια/ φιλανθρωπία

with Isocrates' ideas at least through Ephorus, a pupil of Isocrates, whose writings he used. If anything, we have the narrative of XXXII.4.1–2, where the deeds of Philip II are under discussion, to prove it; Diodorus, as noted previously, states that those who struggled with Philip II for the hegemony of Greece willingly entrusted him with the authority because of his clemency towards them. However, Diodorus developed his own formula, which he ascribes not only to Athens, Sparta and Philip II, but also to a wide range of individuals and states.[81]

In the works later than the *Bibliotheke* it is interesting to trace the idea of clemency in the biographies of Plutarch. In his *Life of Caesar*, Plutarch speaks of Caesar's lenience after the battle of Pharsalus. According to him, Caesar incorporated into his army many of Pompey's men who were

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constantly, Isocrates' vocabulary is wider and includes, in addition to πρᾶος and ἐπιεικής, also φιλανθρωπία, σώφρων, and other words; all these indicate a moderate behaviour. I am not sure that it is fair to compare numbers here, giving the different scope of their work and bearing in mind that they do not always apply the same words to the same purpose, but the fact that Diodorus employs ἐπιείκεια and related words on 126 occasions, while Isocrates does so only in 42 cases, should also tell us something about Diodorus' contribution to the development of the idea of clemency.

[81] In support of this conjecture one may also recall a surviving segment of Ephorus' original work in which the author possibly describes Athens of 470 BCE as most wise (σοφωτάτην) and most *just* (δικαιοτάτην) (*POxy*., XIII.1610 FF 4–5 = *FGrH*, IIA, 70 F 191). Comparing this with Diodorus' words in XI.59.3 cited above shows the creativity of the latter: the city was renowned as most wise (σοφωτάτην) and as most *clement* (ἐπιεικεστάτην). In fact, one can translate both δικαιοτάτην and ἐπιεικεστάτην as 'most fair' or 'most moderate', but Diodorus' choice of words is what matters here. Interestingly, Isocrates refers to the Athenians as δικαιοτάτους as well (*De Pace*, 139). For a detailed comparison between the fragment of Ephorus and Diod., XI.59, see Hornblower 1981, pp. 28–29, 278. See also Sacks 1990, pp. 43, 52–53. I do not wish to discuss here the validity of assigning papyrus 1610 to Ephorus but, since there is some controversy, I would like to call attention to the opinion of Africa 1962, pp. 86–89, who opposes the prevailing view, suggesting that the papyrus is not Ephoran on the grounds of minimal resemblance to Diodorus' narrative. (For Diodorus' relation to Ephorus, see Barber 1993, passim; Schepens 1977, pp. 101–118. Both refer also to Isocrates' influence on Ephorus.) See also Rubincam 1976, pp. 357–366 for a more recent and fuller discussion of the relationship of the papyrus to Diodorus. In light of the present study, I cannot agree with Grenfell and Hunt, who argue that "Diodorus was a writer of very slight originality" and I find incompatible their assessment that "it is clear … that much of Diodorus' work, which could be ignored, so long as his statements were regarded as merely those of a writer of the Augustan age, will henceforth have to be treated with the respect due to the celebrated fourth century BC historian whom he was to a large extent copying" (Grenfell, Hunt 1919, pp. 111–112; cf. Rubincam 1976, esp. pp. 365–366, ascribing more creativity to Diodorus). See also Strasburger 1965, p. 47 n. 70, who attributes ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ φιλάνθρωποι of Diod. V.34.1 to Posidonius, and Murray 1970, p. 161 and n. 7, who attributes the appearance of ἐπιείκεια in I.54.2, 55.10, 64.9 and elsewhere in Book I to Hecataeus. Again, the present study refutes both opinions.

taken alive, while to the distinguished among them he granted immunity (ἄδεια), one of whom was Brutus, who later murdered him (*Caes.*, 46.2). Arriving at Alexandria, Caesar showed kindness (εὐεργέτησε) towards Pompey's friends captured by the king (*Caes.*, 48.2). In the battle of Thapsus, on the other hand, Plutarch reveals a cruel side of the dictator. He introduces two versions; in both of them Caesar is presented as a general who mistreated his foes. According to one version, Caesar himself commanded the army in a campaign during which, in one day, he slew fifty thousand soldiers of his enemy. According to the second version, Caesar did not take part in the battle, being detained by his illness; nevertheless, it was he who gave the order to kill those who escaped and did not commit suicide after their capture (*Caes.*, 53.2–3).

The term ἐπιείκεια is indeed missing from Plutarch's description of Caesar's conduct at Pharsalus, yet Caesar's clemency is conveyed in other words. In the case of Thapsus, however, Caesar's behaviour, as depicted by Plutarch, varies considerably from that painted by Velleius Paterculus. Furthermore, Plutarch remarks that Caesar was upset when he learned that Cato had taken his own life, yet he cannot point out the reason with certainty, since Caesar wrote afterwards a treatise against Cato which has no suggestion that he thought of acting gently (πράως) or in a conciliatory manner (εὐδιαλλάκτως). In contrast, Plutarch indicates a possibility that this essay was written out of political considerations and not out of hatred. This opinion is strengthened by the clemency (ἐπιείκεια) shown by Caesar towards Cicero, Brutus and many other of his political opponents (*Caes.*, 54.1–2). Plutarch has his doubts with regard to Caesar's genuine compassion even at the beginning of his war against Pompey: Caesar addressed the senators in a moderate and affable manner (ἐπιείκῆ καὶ δημοτικά), but no one would listen to him, either because they feared Pompey, or because they thought that Caesar did not mean what he said (*Caes.*, 35.2). Plutarch employs the word ἐπιείκεια once again, maintaining that the decision to dedicate the temple of Clemency (τὸ … τῆς ἐπιεικείας ἱερόν) to Caesar was appropriate in view of his mildness (ἐπὶ τῇ πρᾳότητι) (*Caes.*, 57.3).

Plutarch does not highlight this facet of an individual's character in any other biography. For instance, like Diodorus, he depicts Aemilius Paullus as humane (φιλάνθρωπος). He goes on to say that the conqueror of Perseus took care of the Greeks' welfare by restoring their governments, giving them grain and oil from the Macedonian stores and performing other benefactions. As a consequence, men praised his

magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) (*Aem.*, 28.1–6). Nevertheless, and though Plutarch mentions Aemilius' kind treatment of Perseus later (*Aem.*, 37.1), he does not dwell on the theme of clemency as he does in his biography of Caesar. Moreover, the word ἐπιείκεια is completely missing from the life of Alexander. He tells how the king spared the lives of the Gymnosophists who stirred up a revolt against him in India after they had answered wisely the questions that were posed by him; not a word is said about Alexander being compassionate (*Alex.*, 64.1–65.1). Diodorus, on the other hand, attributes clemency to the Macedonian king no fewer than six times. Describing an attempt made by the Albanians to attack Pompey, Plutarch remarks that the latter overcame them and killed many of them. But when their king sent envoys to beg for mercy, Pompey ceased his acts of cruelty and made terms with them (*Pomp.*, 34.3–4). Unlike Diodorus, who would have probably seized the opportunity to state that Pompey acted in accordance with the clement spirit of his forefathers (cf. XL.2), Plutarch says nothing of kindness. The fact that Plutarch refers to a lenient behaviour on Pompey's part on other two occasions (*Pomp.*, 27.4, 62.1) and to a lack of it on another one (*Pomp.*, 2.4) merely reinforces the different approaches of the two authors. Interestingly, when Plutarch does stress the subject, it is done in the biography of Pompey, Caesar's contemporary.

Another biography of Caesar, written by Suetonius, further proves that the discussion of a compassionate side in the nature of a leader is typical of Diodorus' days. Suetonius elaborates on this topic in a whole chapter (*Iul.*, 75.1–5). He says that Caesar showed admirable moderation and clemency (*moderationem … clementiamque … admirabilem*) during the Civil War as well as on achieving victory, and presents examples of men whom Caesar pardoned. According to Plutarch, at the battle of Pharsalus Caesar cried out to spare the citizens. The notion, as noted, found its way into the Augustan era. Thus we may discover its echoes in the biography of the *princeps*, where Suetonius asserts that Augustus never made war on any people without a just and inevitable cause, never inflicted severe punishments on those who rebelled or betrayed him. The fame of his virtue and moderation (*virtutis moderationisque fama*) reached even India and Scythia (*Aug.*, 21.2–3).

The question of whether Caesar's clement conduct was genuine or was a political manipulation has no relevance for our discussion, for even if he did deceive the people, he was still responsible for raising interest in the subject. It is quite obvious that Caesar's moderate behaviour had its impact on the authors of his day. The examination of later writers also

confirms the deduction that the issue of clemency as a virtue belongs to the time of Caesar and Augustus; they lay emphasis on it with regard to these two Roman rulers, but do not mention it in relation to others.[82] Diodorus was affected by contemporary events just as much as Cicero, Sallust and Velleius Paterculus were. He was not a Roman; nevertheless he was inspired by Roman affairs. Thus he ascribed to his heroes—be they mythological or historical—a virtue which he valued in Caesar and, in the same manner, spread in his work the idea of good deeds and the consequent eternal honour. Both cases reveal Diodorus' originality. This, in addition to the illustration of Diodorus' use of his sources discussed in the first part of this chapter, reveals the dual nature of the *Bibliotheke*.

[82] Nevertheless, it seems that the formula ἐπιείκεια/ἐπιεικῶς accompanied with προσφέρειν is unique to Diodorus. A search in the texts of various authors in the *TLG* confirms this.

CHAPTER THREE

WORKING METHODS: EMPHASIS ON ORGANIZATION AND ORDERLY DISCUSSIONS

Diodorus' account of the swelling of the Nile provides an instructive example of his methods in history writing. I have referred to this subject elsewhere in order to demonstrate his unique source-citation practice which, in this particular case, bears resemblance to our methods.[1] I would like to address it here again, in an attempt to show the author's attitude towards other facets of the historian's craft. At the beginning of the discussion, Diodorus remarks that since there is great perplexity regarding the flooding of the river, many of the philosophers and the historians have endeavoured to explain its causes. He then adds that he will deal with their views briefly in order not to make the digression too long nor leave unwritten a matter for which all men are searching (I.37.1). In the first chapter, out of five devoted to the discourse on the Nile, he offers an introduction to the main topic, to which he refers at the beginning of the next chapter: "now that we have ended the discussion of the sources and the course of the river, we will attempt to explain the causes of its flooding" (I.38.1). In conclusion, he states that with regard to the swelling of the Nile, although he could have answered in greater detail all those who had suggested explanations, he would be satisfied with the things that have been said, in order that he may not deviate from the brevity announced at the beginning (I.41.10). An author who incorporates statements such as the above three in a discussion of one single topic is obviously concerned with the structure and the organization of his work.[2] In fact, Diodorus is

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[1] Sulimani 2008.

[2] It is generally agreed that Diodorus drew on Agatharchides of Cnidus (either directly, or via the writings of Artemidorus) for his account of the Nile (see the summary in Burton 1972, pp. 21–25). However, as Sacks 1990, pp. 110–112 convincingly demonstrates, Diodorus did not simply copy Agatharchides or Artemidorus. The following discussion contributes to Sacks' arguments, showing that the statements concerning the organization of the discussion, incorporated in the account of the Nile, are Diodorus' own, since similar statements (in similar phrasing) recur throughout the *Bibliotheke*.

very much concerned with methodological issues, as can be inferred not only from his direct comments on the subject, but also from the introductions to the individual books and their conclusions, the structure of the tales of the gods and heroes, as well as sentences and phrases recurring throughout the *Bibliotheke*. The identical phrases that he places at the beginning and at the end of a discussion of a certain topic, clear transitions from one issue to another and emphasis on every digression from the main topic also attest to that. The fact that he arranges the material according to geographical areas and, whenever possible, devotes one book to one subject, might be added to this list. An examination of all these categories will show that Diodorus had a set of principles and rules on which he constructed his universal history.

This organizational strategy is obligatory for a work which the author himself, by explaining its scope and objectives, characterizes as encyclopaedic.[3] As the discussion of Diodorus' definition of his chosen genre demonstrates,[4] he strove to record the history of the entire inhabited world from the earliest times, including the ancient mythologies, until his own times, to embrace the deeds of both the Greeks and the barbarians and to refer to very many and most varied circumstances (I.3.1–2, 3.6; cf. I.9.1), accomplishing that in only forty books (I.4.6–7, XL.8);[5] by pursuing such a plan, he aims to create one narrative, a common counting-house of past occurrences (I.1.3), and a treatise from which anyone will be able to take whatever is relevant to his project, as though one were drawing from a great fountain (I.3.7). Apart from the metaphors used by Diodorus, this purpose bears a remarkable resemblance to Pliny's comment in his *Naturalis Historia*, an obvious example of encyclopaedic work in antiquity. Stating that he wrote a table of contents of each book, Pliny adds that by this means "*ne perlegant, sed ut quisque desiderabit aliquid id tantum quaerat, et sciat quo loco inveniat*", (the readers) will not read through, but each one will search only for the thing that he will desire,

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Hence I find it rather odd to read in Ameling's study of Agatharchides, with regard to Diod., I.37.3–4, that "writing on the sources of the Nile, Agatharchides gives a short summary of his most important predecessors and the reasons for their failure", without so much as acknowledging Diodorus' role (Ameling 2008, pp. 28–29).

[3] See Rubincam 1997, p. 129. This is not to say that the *Bibliotheke* is an 'Encyclopaedia', a term created in the Renaissance, but it is a model of an early work with encyclopaedic features or, as Rubincam puts it, a 'proto- encyclopaedia' (p. 136).

[4] See above, Part I Chapter 1, pp. 23–26.

[5] For Diodorus' original plan to write a work of forty-two books, see Rubincam 1998a, pp. 229–233.

and will know in which passage he will find it.[6] Treating the *Bibliotheke* as an example of Graeco-Roman encyclopaedic literature, Rubincam maintains that the prefaces to the individual books and the summary table of contents included in them, the description of the organizational scheme of the whole work in his general introduction and his cross-references are steps taken by Diodorus "to overcome the difficulty of referring to, rather than reading right through, an encyclopaedic work".[7] While it is true that the prefaces have a significant role, for they were actually used as written divisions between the bookrolls,[8] and the tables of contents and cross-references make the *Bibliotheke* more easily usable by readers, the following discourse reveals other means employed by Diodorus to help his readers, including those who wish to consult his work rather than peruse it.

The Introductions to the Books

The structure of the books which survived in their entirety suggests that each of the *Bibliotheke*'s forty books opens with a preface (its length varies from half a chapter to two chapters), and ends with a brief conclusion (usually one or two sentences). This practice indicates in itself that Diodorus lays considerable emphasis on the arrangement of his work; he creates a framework for the individual books, shaping them in accordance with one and the same pattern. Furthermore, an introduction in its long version includes a discussion of a methodological, philosophical or moral question, a summary of the topics of the previous book and the contents of the present one, while the closing remarks relate to the last

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[6] Plin., *NH*, *Praef.*, 33. For the classification of Pliny's work, see Starr 1981, pp. 433, 436 and Rubincam 1997, pp. 128 (with n. 4 for further studies), 136.

[7] Rubincam 1997, esp. pp. 129, 132–133. She also points out that modern readers expect cross-references to be precise (namely, to include page or footnote numbers) but, since this practice was impossible in books which were written by hand and took the form of a roll (see the following note), cross-references in Graeco-Roman prose texts were usually general and imprecise. These technological obstacles, and the one which, as I have already mentioned (see above, Part I Chapter 1, p. 30), made it difficult for Diodorus to locate and remove comments regarding his intentions to discuss Julius Caesar's deeds, must be kept in mind when dealing with the shortcomings of ancient encyclopaedic works.

[8] Rubincam 1997, pp. 129–130, 132–133, and see further below. Ephorus was the originator of this technique (see also Barber 1993, pp. 68–74). For the form and the material of the ancient book, see Reynolds, Wilson 1991, pp. 2–5. For photographs of Greek manuscript texts on papyrus rolls, see Turner 1987, passim.

issue discussed, contain a few words which signify an ending and provide a smooth transition to the next book by referring to its first subject. The similarities occur not only in the structure of the preface or the conclusion of a book, but also in the wording. When one inspects the *Bibliotheke* in terms of an encyclopaedic work, both the opening and the ending of a book become vital. As they are placed at the edges of the scroll, the reader could find them rather quickly; consulting the paragraphs dealing with the contents of the books, he could also decide whether he should read the previous, the present, or the next book, or, possibly, decide that none of these is relevant to his chosen topic. In this respect, then, the role of the conclusion of a book is no less important.[9] I will discuss the introductions first.

Of the fifteen books which were fully preserved, eleven begin with *prooemia* of the type described above. The *prooemium* to the first book serves as an introduction to the whole work, and it is therefore longer (five chapters) and multifaceted. The prologues to Books II, III and XI differ from the above model as they include merely two lists; the first covers the issues discussed in the previous book and the other refers to those about to be discussed in the present one. In Books V and XVI, on the other hand, along with his elaboration on a certain topic, Diodorus provides details only regarding the present book.[10] The existence of four types of *prooemia* does not indicate inconsistency on Diodorus' part: the similarities which occur in his phrasings prove otherwise.

The opening sentences of the shortest introductions, which refer only to the subject of the preceding book, resemble each other:

> ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὖσα πρώτη περιέχει τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον πράξεις. (II.1.1)
>
> τῶν πρὸ ταύτης βίβλων δυοῖν οὐσῶν ἡ μὲν πρώτη περιέχει τὰς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πράξεις .... (III.1.1)
>
> ἡ μὲν ... πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὖσα δεκάτη .... (XI.1.1)

[9] For the significance of the prefaces, see Rubincam 1997, pp. 129–130, 132–133 and above.

[10] I intend to discuss here only the introductions to the books that are complete. See Sacks 1982, pp. 434–443 who refers to the fragmentary books as well. According to Sacks, there are several types of *prooemia*: main introductions, introductions which relate to moral or didactic questions and introductions which focus on historiographical problems (p. 435). See also Laqueur 1911, pp. 163–166, who argues that originally the preface to Book XI had a discourse of a certain topic which is now lost.

Yet one may find similar wording at the beginning of Book XVII, though Diodorus elaborates later on a methodological question:

> ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης βύβλος οὖσα τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως ἑξκαιδεκάτη ....
> (XVII.1.1)

In other books which contain *prooemia* of the long type, Diodorus uses an almost identical wording at the end of the discourse on his chosen theme. In IV.1.5, for instance, he writes ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις (in the books before this one, then) ..., while in XV.1.6 he refers only to the adjacent preceding book: ἡ μὲν οὖν πρὸ ταύτης βύβλος ..., phrasings which he repeats, occasionally with slight changes, in all the books in which he refers to the subjects of previous books (XII.2.3, XIV.2.4, XIX.1.10, XX.2.3 and XVIII.1.6).

Turning to the topics of the book which he is about to begin, Diodorus again employs the same wording—ἐν ταύτῃ ..., meaning "in this (book)"—except for the introductions to Book V which, as noted, does not include a list of the subjects of previous books, and Book XVIII, in which the contracted form αὕτη appears instead (XVIII.1.6). In Book XVI, which also does not allude to previous books, one may find the words ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ in the middle of the *prooemium* (XVI.1.3), since it contains a discourse on a methodological problem and a reference to the actions of Philip II, which are the main topics of the book. Occasionally Diodorus also mentions the first event with which he will deal. When he does so, he uses the phrase τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι/ποιησόμεθα ἀπὸ ... (II.1.3, IV.1.6, XV.1.6, XIX.1.10), or ἀρξόμεθα ἀπὸ ... (XI.1.1, XIII.1.3, XIV.2.4, XVIII.1.2, XX.2.3).

Apart from Book XVII, the discussion of a certain topic, if included in the *prooemium*, is placed before the reference to the contents of the books. In the introductions to Books IV, V, XIII, XVI, XVII and XX Diodorus is concerned with methodological problems. Since they shed light on the author's methods of working, it is worth examining them in detail. The difficulties in recording the myths are discussed at the beginning of the fourth book. Diodorus mentions four such obstacles: the antiquity of the events; the absence of any exact proof regarding their dates; the multitude of heroes, demi-gods, men and their compound genealogies; and disagreement among those who have recounted the myths. Consequently, reputed historians, such as Ephorus, Callisthenes and Theopompus, have renounced the narration of the ancient myths, beginning their works with more recent events. Diodorus himself, holding the opposite opinion, emphasizes that he treated the earliest legends

with the utmost care. He further explains that he chose not to omit these legends since many great deeds had been carried out by heroes, demigods and good men who, as a consequence, received divine honours (or honours equal to those awarded to heroes) and have been eternally commemorated by history. With this statement he ends the discussion that is smoothly linked to the list of the topics of the preceding books which follows for, according to him, in these three books he described the mythologies of peoples other than the Greeks, which are treated in the present one (IV.1.1–6).

In the preface to Book V Diodorus refers to the management of one's affairs (οἰκονομία) which is important not only in matters such as preserving or increasing one's property, but also when he undertakes to write history. He argues that certain authors are worth praising because of their style and great experience drawn from the deeds which they record, yet they have failed in arranging the material and were rightfully censured for that. Timaeus, for instance, showed accuracy and knowledge gained through experience, but his too long and untimely censures were criticised, some even called him Ἐπιτίμαιος. Ephorus, on the other hand, excelled both in style and the organization of his work. Each one of his books encompasses κατὰ γένος τὰς πράξεις, a phrase which any attempt to translate literally (the affairs according to type?) will not shed light on the author's meaning. Diodorus believes that this type of handling the material (τὸ γένος τοῦ χειρισμοῦ) is the preferred method, admitting that he himself had made an effort to apply this principle in composing his own work (V.1.1–4). In this introduction he does not refer to the topics of the preceding book but, here, too, connects the opening discussion to the subject of the present book; at the beginning of the following chapter he states that since the title of this book is "On the Islands",[11] he will deal with Sicily first. Hence the fifth book provides an example of a book which embraces one issue, namely islands.

But what does writing κατὰ γένος mean? Of the various meanings of the noun γένος, "type" and "kind" are appropriate English words to use in this particular case,[12] yet the translation does not solve the problem. Scholars suggest that presenting the material κατὰ γένος mean doing so according to subjects or episodes, rather than chronologically; some maintain that each book has one central theme, while others argue that the narrative of a certain book is limited to one single geographical area.

[11] There are no further indications of titles given by Diodorus to his books.
[12] See Liddell, Scott 1996, s.v. γένος; McDougall 1997, vol. 1, s.v. γένος.

The latter approach prevails, mainly due to an examination of the fragments of Ephorus, which show that he dedicated each one of his books to one of four regions—Greece, the West, Asia and Macedon.[13] Furthermore, some of the scholars claim that this is precisely the manner in which Diodorus understood κατὰ γένος. To strengthen their view, they cite his statement in I.9.5—according to which he will recount most of the facts regarding the barbarians first, in order to avoid any interruption of his treatment of the Greeks by interpolating information concerning other peoples—and three cases, in which he marks the transition to a new topic by phrases such as "since we have spoken about the affairs of Macedon and Illyria, we shall turn to events of a different kind (πρὸς τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις). In Sicily Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse ..." (XVI.5.1). The same formula, or with ἐπί instead of πρὸς (τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις), appears when Diodorus ends his account of the Sacred War in Greece and opens the discussion of the affairs in Syracuse, and also in summing up the occurrences in Europe and turning to Carthage (XVI.64.3–65.1, XI.20.1).[14]

Other expressions, indicating a change of subject, may confirm the assumption that Diodorus understood writing κατὰ γένος as organizing the material according to geographical criteria. In III.49.1, for instance, he states that having examined these matters (i.e. Arabia and its inhabitants), it will be appropriate to consider the Libyans who dwell in the vicinity of Egypt, while in V.16.1 he remarks that, having spoken sufficiently about Sardinia, he will describe the islands in the order in which they lie. Another example may be found in III.38.1, where Diodorus writes that since he had examined at sufficient length Ethiopia and the Trogodyte country ... the coast of the Red Sea and the Atlantic Sea ... he will depict the parts which still remain, adding that he refers to the Arabian Gulf (cf. V.33.1, XVIII.54.1). One may detect another indication of the geographical meaning of κατὰ γένος in Diodorus' statement in the introduction to the whole work, according to which his first three books will concentrate on the antiquities of the barbarians, whereas the next three will be dedicated almost entirely to the Greeks (I.4.6). Moreover, Diodorus' habit of linking the subject being discussed in the *prooemium*

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[13] For a thorough discussion and bibliography, see Drews 1963, pp. 244–245; Drews 1976, pp. 497–498. See also *FGrH*, IIC, 70, pp. 26–27; Sacks 1982, pp. 440–441; Reid [Rubincam] 1969, pp. 54–56; Schepens 1977, pp. 115–116; Mortley 1996, pp. 23–28. For a different view see, for example, Laqueur 1911, pp. 197–198, 349–350; Barber 1993, pp. 17–18.

[14] Reid [Rubincam] 1969, pp. 54–56; Drews 1976, pp. 497; Sacks 1982, pp. 440–441.

to the topics of the book itself, which is evidently the case in Book V, might strengthen the geographical meaning of κατὰ γένος; for the title "On the Islands", implies that the book is not only limited to one topic, but that the topic is geographically defined.

However, two facts should be considered. First, it seems that by organizing the material κατὰ γένος Ephorus refers to its distribution among the books,[15] while the above cited remarks of Diodorus prove that the latter wrote according to well-defined topics within the books as well. Second, not all of Diodorus' books concentrate on a subject which is geographically defined; the same is true regarding the topics within the books themselves. Gods, heroes and kings (e.g. Philip II and Alexander the Great), or a noteworthy event (e.g. the voyage of the Argonauts), may well form a subject which Diodorus introduces and sums up at the beginning and at the end of a book (e.g. XVI, XVII), or of a unit within a book (e.g. IV.40.1–57.1). Hence it appears that Diodorus uses Ephorus' method but, at the same time, modifies it. He arranges his books according to geographical criteria, yet he also divides them into units, each unit discussing a sub-area or a topic which is not necessarily geographically defined. The mythological section of the *Bibliotheke* provides a good example to clarify this point. Each one of its five books is dedicated to one part of the world; the first book, for instance, is devoted as a whole to Egypt, while each group of chapters concentrates on a different aspect of the land: the Egyptians' ideas about the gods (chaps. 10–29), the topography of Egypt and its natural features (chaps. 30–41), the kings (chaps. 42–68), the Egyptian customs (chaps. 69–72), the division of the land and its citizens (chaps. 73–74), the administration of justice (chaps. 75–76), the laws (chaps. 77–80), the education (chap. 81) and so forth. The transition from one topic to another is made clear by phrases (which will be thoroughly examined below) such as "since we are aiming at due proportion, let what we have said about the ideas of the Egyptians concerning the gods suffice. Regarding the land, the Nile and everything else worth hearing about, we shall endeavour to give a description in summary", which appears at the end of chapter 29 (cf. I.74.8, 41.10, 69.1, 72.6, 74.8, 77.1). Book IV provides another illuminating example. Stating at the beginning that he will deal with the Greek account of the ancient periods, Diodorus divides the book into several parts, each of them concerns a figure or an adventure:

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15 Diod., V.1.4: τῶν γὰρ βίβλων ἑκάστην πεποίηκε (i.e. Ἔφορος) περιέχειν κατὰ γένος τὰς πράξεις. See Reid [Rubincam] 1969, p. 56.

Dionysus (chaps. 2–5), Priapus (chap. 6), the Muses (chap. 7), Heracles (chaps. 8–39), the Argonauts (chaps. 40–56), the Heracleidae (chaps. 57–58) and others. Again, the framework of each story is made clear by sentences such as "regarding the Muses, since we have mentioned them in the account of Dionysus, it may be appropriate to relate to them briefly" (IV.7.1; cf. 5.4, 7.4, 39.4–40.1, 57.1).[16]

Yet one must bear in mind that Diodorus combines two different methods, which apparently contradict each other, as he writes both thematically and chronologically. His appreciation of the first approach may be seen in his compliments to Ephorus (V.1.4), referring to the latter's advantages in the introduction to the whole work. As already mentioned in the first chapter,[17] Diodorus describes the best historical work as "the systematic treatise which contains a connected account of affairs in a single line of narrative", ἡ δ' ἐν μιᾶς συντάξεως περιγραφῇ πραγματεία τὸ τῶν πράξεων εἰρόμενον ἔχουσα,[18] which means that the best historical work is that in which the author creates a sequence by connecting the events to one another. Such a treatise facilitates, according to Diodorus, the reading and provides a reconstruction of the past which is easy to follow, since "the whole is more useful than the parts and the continuity than its discontinuity". He adds that an event whose date has been accurately determined is better than one whose time is unknown (I.3.8; cf. I.3.2–4, 5.1). Hence, since he had little information, he organizes the mythological section of his work thematically but, whenever he could, also chronologically, whereas the historical part is practically a sort of *annales*.[19]

An examination of the *prooemia* to Books XVI and XVII sheds more light on Diodorus' method in the historical portion of the *Bibliotheke*.

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16 It is interesting to compare this to Strabo's methodology; see Dueck 2000, pp. 165–180. See also the method used by Polybius who describes the affairs of Carthage, Greece, Macedon and other countries within the narrative of one single year, in contrast to the practice of Ephorus. Polyb., XXXVIII.5.1–6.7 with Meister 1971, pp. 506–508; Walbank 1972, p. 114; Walbank 1979, vol. 3, pp. 690–695. See further below.

17 See above, pp. 23–24.

18 Cf. the translations of Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, p. 17: "... the treatise which keeps within the limits of a single narrative and contains a connected account of events ..."; Murphy 1990, p. 6: "... a book having the chronicles of affairs systematized in one outline ...".

19 See Sacks 1982, p. 441, and also Clarke 2008, pp. 106–108, 125–126, who remarks: "In spite of Diodorus' concerns over the chronographical difficulties of the mythical period, he keeps close control over the ordering of events, and seems to have a strong sense of the 'right place' for each story."

At the outset of his sixteenth book he argues that "it is proper that in all diligent historical studies the authors encompass in the books deeds of city-states or of kings which are complete in themselves from beginning to end", ἐν πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἱστορικαῖς πραγματείαις καθήκει τοὺς συγγραφεῖς περιλάμβανειν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις ἢ πόλεων ἢ βασιλέων πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ τέλους.[20] He also explains that in this manner history will be most easy to remember and comprehensible to the readers. Half-complete actions, αἱ … ἡμιτελεῖς πράξεις, having no continuity from beginning to end, οὐκ ἔχουσαι συνεχὲς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὸ πέρας, interrupt the desire of the lovers of reading, while actions embracing the continuity of the narrative to the end, αἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς διηγήσεως συνεχὲς περιλαμβάνουσαι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, hold the perfect account of the affairs. Thus, whenever the nature of the events corresponds with the task of the historian, he must not deviate from this principle. At this point the methodological discourse ends and by the next sentence its link to the topic of the book becomes clear: now that we have reached the deeds of Philip son of Amintas, we will attempt to encompass the actions performed by this king within this book, πειρασόμεθα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πραχθέντα περιλαβεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ. Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the discussion of κατὰ γένος appears in the preface to Book V, whereas the discourse of πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς is placed in the *prooemia* to Books XVI and XVII. Following a brief description of the achievements and merits of Philip, Diodorus concludes the *prooemium* by saying that in order not to reveal his accomplishments beforehand in the introduction, he will proceed to the continuity of the history after retracing briefly the events of earlier times (XVI.1.1–6). This discussion proves, in addition, that for Diodorus the γένος of a book does not have to be geographically defined.

While the preface to Book XVI differs from the prevalent model of introductions (a summary of the preceding book is missing here), the *prooemium* to Book XVII presents a change of order: the contents of the previous book appear first, then the subject of the present one and finally a reference to the methodology which the author employs in this particular book. In all three parts of this preface Diodorus adds details regarding the method of writing πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς. Reviewing

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[20] McDougall 1997, vol. 2, s.v. translates πραγματεία as "systematic history", See also Sherman 1952, vol. 7, p. 233: "In all systematic historical treaties …" and McQueen 1995, p. 19: "In all historical expositions …" For the introduction to Book XVI, see Sordi 1969, pp. xiv–xxii; McQueen 1995, pp. 61–62.

the contents of the sixteenth book, he states that, having begun with the coronation of Philip, he included all his deeds until his death as well as the affairs of other kings, peoples and city-states, so far as they occurred in the times of his reign, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων τε καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεως ὅσαι γεγόνασι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας ταύτης χρόνους. Diodorus again puts an emphasis on embracing the actions of figures other than the main character of the book, referring to the topic of his present book. He declares that he will describe the continuous events (τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις),[21] starting with the accession of Alexander, encompassing his deeds until his death as well as events which took place at the same time in the known part of the inhabited world, τὰ ἅμα τούτοις συντελεσθέντα ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης. He believes that in this way the events will be easy to remember, since they are presented summarily (κεφαλαιωδῶς) and show a continuity from the beginning to the end, συνεχὲς ἔχουσας ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὸ τέλος (XVII.1.1–2).[22]

The last two *prooemia* prove that, whether he wrote κατὰ γένος, πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς or otherwise, it was Diodorus' intention to arrange the material both chronologically and synchronically. First, following his statement that he will dedicate an entire book (XVI) to a complete topic (the life of Philip), he adds a remark which makes it clear that he plans to continue his narrative from where he left it in the preceding book (XVI.1.1–6), as he indeed does (XV.95.1, XVI.2.1). Secondly, he opens his seventeenth book with Alexander's succession (XVII.1.2, 2.1)—which is an immediate continuance of Book XVI that ends with the death of Philip (XVI.95.1–5)—and not with his childhood and adulthood. Finally, he admits that, while describing Philip's deeds, he refers to synchronous events which were not necessarily connected with this king (XVII.1.1, cf. XV.95.4), a practice also pursued in Book XVII, which concentrates on Alexander (XVII.1.2). One may find a resemblance between Diodorus' method and that of Polybius. The latter confesses that he regularly and deliberately interrupts an account of a certain region, mentioning the affairs of other lands, hence relating each year to the events occurring synchronically in different places. He adds that, unlike other authors who resort to this practice in an irregular manner, he succeeds in maintaining

[21] For the significance of this phrase, see above, Part I Chapter 1, pp. 41–45.

[22] Cf. the translation of Welles 1963, vol. 8, p. 119, ascribing to the adverb κεφαλαιωδῶς an interesting meaning but one which is too innovative: "thus the material is arranged topically ..." See Liddell, Scott 1996, s.v.; McDougall 1997, vol. 1, s.v.

a thread of continuity (τὸ συνεχές). Though Diodorus' theme is not geographically defined, both historians adhere to one and the same principle.[23]

What is, then, the practice of writing πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς? Diodorus explains his method more than once, repeating the words τὸ συνεχές (continuation), ἡ ἀρχή (beginning) and τὸ τέλος or τὸ πέρας (end): accounts of "deeds of city-states or of kings which are complete in themselves from beginning to end" (XVI.1.1); "(actions) embracing the continuity of the narrative to the end" (XVI.1.2); "(deeds) presented briefly and maintain continuity from the beginning to the end" (XVII.1.2). He also uses a comparison to ἡμιτελεῖς πράξεις, half-complete actions, "having no continuity from beginning to end" (XVI.1.2), to strengthen the meaning of πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς as an unremitting description of one topic which, in addition, should be enclosed within the limits of one book (XVI.1.1, 3, cf. XVII.1–2). This interpretation finds further proof in two other occasions in which Diodorus employs the adjective αὐτοτελής. In his general introduction he states that, in contrast to the authors of universal history, many historians have recorded complete wars (αὐτοτελεῖς πολέμους) of one single people or one single city-state (I.3.2). It is clear that he refers to treatises which concentrate only on one war, but one which they recorded "from the beginning to the end", to use his phrase. In the preface to his twelfth book he maintains that none of the things which we consider good has ever been given complete (ὁλόκληρον) to human beings, nor any of the bad things has been handed over complete in itself (αὐτοτελές) without something effective (XII.1.1). This use, despite its different context (it appears in a philosophical discourse), reinforces the conjecture that by αὐτοτελής Diodorus meant a complete unit.[24] It should be remembered, however, that in a book which is dedicated to πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς the discussion is not restricted to the main topic. As Diodorus points out, contemporary events, unrelated to the central theme, are incorporated (XV.95.4, XVII.1.1–2).[25] Though

[23] Polyb., XXXVIII.5.1–6.7 (esp. 5.2, 6.3–6). See Walbank 1979, vol. 3, pp. 690–695.

[24] See Sacks 1982, pp. 437–438, esp. n. 13; Sacks 1990, pp. 14–15, esp. n. 23.

[25] It has been argued that there is a contradiction between the *prooemia* to Books XVI–XVII and the contents of these books, since in XVI Diodorus states that he will concentrate on Philip II but inserts unrelated material, while in XVII, declaring that he will focus on Alexander and yet includes other contemporary events, he fails to record information other than that which is somehow connected with the king (Kunz 1935). This claim has no grounds, since Diodorus clearly states that he will add a variety of issues to the books which have one central topic. I suggest taking the *prooemia* to Books XVI–XVII as

strongly believing in the advantages of this method—history would be understandable and easy to remember, the account would be complete and would secure the pleasure of the readers (XVI.1.1–2, XVII.1.2)—he knew that its application was not always possible (XVI.1.2).

Another methodological question which concerns Diodorus in the *prooemium* to Book XIII is the need of long introductions. He states that if he were following in the footsteps of other historians, he should have elaborated on certain themes (περί τινων) at some length in the preface (ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ) to each book, and in this manner turn the discussion to the continuous events (οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις μεταβιβάζειν τὸν λόγον).[26] However, one may enjoy the fruit of such introductions if he concentrates on a short period of time. Since his purpose is not only to set forth the events to the best of his ability, but also to embrace more than eleven hundred years, he must give up long prefaces and reach the events themselves. Diodorus' sentence does not end here; it continues with the words τοῦτο μόνον προειπόντας, ὅτι ... (telling only this beforehand, that ...) and then follows a list of the contents of the preceding six books and a reference to the subject matter of the present one (XIII.1.1–3), as if he wished to demonstrate that he is acting on his convictions.

But does he indeed? Apparently, there is an inconsistency between Diodorus' opinion in this *prooemium* and his habit to reflect on a certain question before commencing with the topic of the book itself. Furthermore, it seems that he criticizes authors for their over-long prefaces, while he himself occasionally makes long introductions, as can be seen in the *prooemium* to Book XX to be discussed below. In this censure he contradicts his high regard for Ephorus' practice for in XVI.76.5 he comments: he (i.e. Ephorus) encompasses a period of almost seven hundred and fifty years, writing thirty books and setting before each an

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two parts of the same idea. Both introductions deal with the method of πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς; both books discuss the lives of Philip and Alexander to their deaths. However, while Book XVI contains other material, the events described in Book XVII surround Alexander. It may be the result of a case in which "theory and practice are not ... in accord", as Sacks puts it (Sacks 1982, p. 440), but it might also be explained by Alexander's dominant figure. For Sacks' confutation of Kunz, see also Sacks 1982, pp. 437–440; Sacks 1990, pp. 13–17.

[26] This remark proves that Diodorus was aware of the need to link the topic under discussion in the introduction to the subject matter of the book and should be added to the arguments made by Sacks in contradiction of Kunz's view; the latter "accuses" Diodorus of extracting his *prooemia* from his sources without assessing their connection with the subjects of his books. Kunz 1935, esp. pp. 37–39; Sacks 1982, pp. 436–443.

introduction (προοίμιον ἑκάστῃ προθείς), while in V.1.4, as noted, he eulogizes Ephorus for the organization of his work.[27]

In the preface to Book XX, which is two chapters long, Diodorus censures another common trend which prevails among historians, namely, the incorporation of long speeches (ὑπερμήκεις *δημηγορίας*) or frequent orations (πυκναῖς … *ῥητορείαις*) in their treatises. Making a remarkable use of synonyms, he maintains that these authors tear asunder the continuity of the narrative by speeches inserted at inappropriate moments (τῶν ἐπεισαγομένων *λόγων*), thus interrupting those who are eager to gain knowledge of the events. He admits that this is an opportunity for those who wish to demonstrate their skill in composing speeches for a variety of purposes, expecting to gain a reputation in the field. However, some historians turn the whole history into an appendix of oratory (προσθήκην ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ὅλην ἱστορίαν τῆς δημηγορίας). In some cases the orations are poorly composed, in others their contents have gone far from the subject being discussed. As a consequence, some readers pass over the speeches, while others give up the reading entirely, due to the length and ill-timedness (διὰ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὴν ἀκαιρίαν). Comparing history to a living body, Diodorus maintains that history is simple and resembles the body; for if it is damaged, it loses its charm, but if its unity is preserved, its reading becomes pleasant and clear. Yet he does not think that speeches should be cast out from historical works altogether, since the latter need to be embellished by a variety of means, orations included. Moreover, an author who refrains from inserting speeches when they are required (for the commemoration of the public address of an ambassador or an adviser, for example) would himself be to blame. He lists the reasons for which the historian should employ rhetoric: a) many things which have been said in a well-planned and elegant manner and are worth remembering and possess a benefit to history should not be omitted with contempt; b) when the subjects under discussion are great and eminent, one should not allow the language to appear inferior to the actions; c) in a case that ends contrary to expectation, one should explain in words appropriate to the subject what seems unreasonable (XX.1.1–2.2).

[27] Cf. Polyb., XII.28.10 who also praises Ephorus for his method. As for the claim that Diodorus copied the introduction to Book XIII from Ephorus, his main source for this book—it cannot be the work of Ephorus, for it contradicts the latter's practice. See Sacks 1990, p. 19.

This well-organized discussion (introducing the practice, its shortcomings and advantages) reveals once again Diodorus' emphasis on the arrangement of a historical work and his view regarding the right proportion between its constituents. He criticizes too long and ill-timed censures (V.1.3), opposes long introductions to each book (XIII.1.1–2) and an account of half-complete actions, having no continuity from beginning to end (XVI.1.1–2, cf. XVII.1.2); he also believes that too many speeches undermine the perfection of the work (XX.1.1–2.2).[28] Hence one may say that the συμμετρία which Diodorus stresses throughout his work should be displayed not only between the topics dealt with (e.g. I.8.10), but also between the means which the author uses in order to discuss these topics.

Does Diodorus stick to his principles? His treatise contains quite a few speeches, some of which are of considerable length. Nicolaus' oration during the dispute over the proper treatment of the Athenian captives which took place in Syracuse in 413 BCE, for instance, contains eight chapters (XIII.20–27), after which appears the speech of the Laconian Gylippus (XIII.28–32). Diodorus does not explain why he decided to introduce their speeches instead of a summary of their opinion, yet the context proves that he proceeds in accordance to his own rules. Nicolaus urges the people to act with clemency (ἐπιείκεια) and, as he is speaking, his hearers tend to support him (XIII.28.1). Clemency as a virtue and as the right way to handle a defeated foe is a recurring theme in the *Bibliotheke*, hence it is likely that Diodorus used the oration to emphasize it.[29] This practice corresponds with the author's statement that speeches which might be beneficial to history should not be omitted. Gylippus, on the other hand, succeeded in persuading the assembly that the hostages should be put to death (XIII.33.1). The radical change in

[28] Historians took over the practice of introducing speeches into the narrative from the Homeric epic. Even Thucydides, who wished to detach himself from the epic tradition, incorporated speeches into his history; but, at the same time, he emphasized the problems involved in reproducing such speeches (I.22.1 and see e.g. Walbank 1985, esp. pp. 244–245; Hornblower 1987, esp. pp. 45–72; Hornblower 1994b, pp. 144–145; Marincola 2001, pp. 77–85). For the influence of the Homeric epic on the Greek historiography, see e.g. Strasburger 1972; Fornara 1983; Woodman 1988; Hornblower 1994a, pp. 7–34; Marincola 1997, pp. 3–7, 184; Marincola 2001, pp. 9–10. For speeches in Homer, see recently Minchin 2007 with further bibliography. See also Bosworth 2003, pp. 167–195. Discussing history and rhetoric, he maintains that "when writing up a period already blessed with historical narratives, ancient writers did not add bogus 'facts' out of their imagination".

[29] For a discussion of the idea of clemency and its significance in Diodorus' work, see

the attitude of the Syracusans and their behaviour, which was considered by Diodorus as wrong, provides sufficient justification for inserting a complete speech; it is certainly a case which ends contrary to expectation, to use Diodorus' third reason for employing rhetoric in a historical work. Moreover, two other men addressed the assembly, one arguing in favour of Nicolaus' view, the other for that of Gylippus, but Diodorus gives only the focal points of their orations (XIII.19.4–5). He was, therefore, faithful to another principle of his, namely keeping the continuity of the narrative by avoiding ill-timed speeches.

Another oration which appears in the *Bibliotheke* is that of the Spartan Endius, head of a delegation to Athens after the defeat of Sparta at Cyzicus (410 BCE). In this case Diodorus states explicitly that because Endius spoke tersely (συντόμως) and in the Laconian manner (λακωνικῶς), he decided not to omit the speech as it was delivered (XIII.52.2). Since the speech is relatively short (less than a chapter long, XIII.52.3–8), Diodorus does not break his own rules. Furthermore, Chapter 52, which contains the speech, opens with the reaction of the Athenians to the news of their victory at Cysicus: they look at the unexpected successes (ἀνελπίστους εὐτυχίας) bearing in mind preceding events. An affair which ends contrary to the expectations is, according to Diodorus, one of the instances in which it is appropriate to sprinkle history with rhetorical passages.

The phrase "but let this suffice on these issues ..." marks the conclusion of the discourse of speeches. Diodorus then reviews the subjects of the preceding books (the deeds of both the Greeks and the barbarians from the earliest times until the year prior to Agathocles' expedition to Libya) and relates to the present book, which will begin with Agathocles and end with the operations of the kings against Antigonus, son of Philip (XX.2.3). This is unusual in that he does not link the *prooemium* to the list of the topics which follows, but indicates the transition to the second part of the introduction by a concluding sentence. Also unique is Diodorus' reference to the topics with which he dealt from the beginning of his treatise. In Books XI, XII, XV, XVI, XVII and XVIII he refers only to the subjects of the previous book, in XIII and XIV he mentions the books in which he discussed the Trojan War up to the Athenian declaration of war against Syracuse, while in XIX and XX he reminds the readers

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the preceding chapter, pp. 82–108. For other Diodoran motifs in Nicolaus' speech, see Sacks 1990, pp. 102–103, who also maintains that the author did not copy the oration as he found it, but added his own words.

of his subject matter from the very beginning of the work.[30] These data might indicate the time of his writing. First, the fact that the same practice occurs in subsequent books suggests that these were composed close to one another; second, it is possible that the return to the mythological material indicates a break in his writing, after which he felt that it was necessary to remind himself, more than his readers, of earlier events. Yet it may well be the result of the position of these books which is right in the middle of the *Bibliotheke*; this may have led Diodorus to think that a review of what he had done so far is due.

The *prooemia* dealing with philosophical or moral questions further prove the unusual feature of the introduction to Book XX as they illustrate Diodorus' habit of linking the subject discussed to the list of the topics which follows. Books XII and XVIII are concerned with philosophical issues. In XII.1.1–2.3 he dwells on the irregularity (ἀνωμαλία) found in the life of mankind, in which there is no absolute good or bad. In order to clarify this theme, he offers an example, which forms the connection between the preface and the topics of both the preceding and the present books. This is the invasion of Xerxes into Greece which had aroused great fear among the Greeks but ended contrary to expectation, for all men assumed that Greece would be enslaved like the Greek cities of Asia Minor, yet it was freed from danger and over the next fifty years enjoyed great prosperity. Elaborating on the place of Athens in this process, he remarks that these matters are discussed in detail in two books, this and the preceding one. Indeed, Book XI opens with the events of 480 BCE, while Book XII continues the account from 450 BCE.

The same method is found in the introduction to Book XVIII. Discussing the concept according to which the souls of men are immortal and capable of foretelling the future at the moment that they leave the bodies, Diodorus produces two examples. The first is that of the Homeric Hector who, being ill, predicted the death of Achilles;[31] the other is

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[30] In Books XIII, XIV, XIX and XX Diodorus even calculates the number of years which elapsed between the first event which he mentioned and the event with which the present book starts as well as the number of years which the present book embraces (e.g. in XX.2.3 he calculates [erroneously] eight hundred and eighty-three years from the fall of Troy to the year before Agathocles' Libyan Campaign, and nine years from the latter event to the operations of the kings against Antigonus). It is also worth noting that in the introductions to the books of the mythological section Diodorus always mentions all the preceding books, except for Book V, in which there is no reference at all to the previous subjects.

[31] Cf. Hector's words in Hom., *Il.* VI.448–465. Predicting the future is yet another epic feature "inherited" by the Greek historiography.

the case of Alexander the Great who, as he breathed his last, foresaw the struggle between his friends over the primacy. Emphasizing that this is exactly what happened, Diodorus states that the present book will concentrate on the deeds of these friends and will elucidate the above concept for the readers. And, as is his habit, he relates to the subjects of the preceding book and describes the outline of the present one (XVIII. 1.1–6).

In the *prooemia* to the remaining three books Diodorus deals with moral issues. In Book XIV he argues that men, especially those who aspire to leadership, should refrain from carrying out any bad act; since they cannot escape notice: they will be censured and their reputation will be damaged forever. Having explained the idea throughout an entire chapter, he ends by stating that the readers may notice manifest examples (ἐμφανῆ … παραδείγματα) of the notion in the detailed account of the present book. The next chapter contains a few instances, the first of which refers to the thirty tyrants of Athens. The rule of the latter opens the book, a detail confirmed by the review of its topics, which comes after a summary of the subjects of the preceding one (XIV.1.1–2.4). Hence the entire characteristics of an introduction to a book appear in this *prooemium*, including a link between the main theme discussed and the subject matter of the book.

The same is true of Book XV. At its outset Diodorus points out the customary freedom of speech of history (τῇ συνήθει τῆς ἱστορίας παρρησίᾳ) which enables one to praise good men and to censure the bad. He believes that this παρρησία will lead those who are naturally inclined to do good deeds to perform beneficial acts, and persuade those of a wicked character away from their bad ways. He adds that since he reached the period in which the Lacedaemonians had suffered two major defeats—one at Leuctra, the other at Mantineia (the main accounts of which indeed appear in XV.53.1–56.4, 86.1–5)—and lost their supremacy over the Greeks, it is appropriate to adhere to the above principle and to criticize them (XV.1.1–2).[32] Having censured the Lacedaemonians for mistreating their subjects, unlike their ancestors who behaved kindly and humanely (XV.1.3–5), Diodorus refers to the topics of the preceding and present books (XV.1.6). A similar structure is found in the *prooemium* to Book XIX. Discussing the proverb that it is men of outstanding ability

[32] Diodorus echoes a moral judgement of the Spartan behaviour—as a hegemonial power—towards the other Greeks, a "topos" found in the works of various authors. See, for instance, Isocrates (e.g. *De Pace*, 99–103, *Paneg.*, 175–190) and Polybius (e.g. VI.43.4, XXXVIII.2.7–12).

who destroy democracies and the consequence—namely, that the people in some city-states suspected the most powerful amongst their statesmen thus taking their authority away from them—Diodorus mentions as examples both the Athenian *ostracismos* and the situation in Sicily prior to the Roman conquest, especially the case of Agathocles (XIX.1.1–8). Agathocles is also the first to concern Diodorus in Book XIX (2.2–9.7), as he himself notes before explaining the subject matter of his preceding books and his plan for the present one (XIX.1.9–10).

One may recognize, then, an almost standardized pattern in the opening of Diodorus' various books. Moreover, there is no definite difference between the mythological and the historical sections of the work. One may find in both parts introductions of the long version (e.g. IV, XII, XIII, XIV) and also prefaces which lack a discourse of a certain topic (II, III, XI), or any mention of the issues of previous books (V, XVI). This consistency may be seen in the concluding remarks of the books as well, but let us examine the *prooemium* to Book I first.

The Introduction to the First Book

Book I differs from the others in more than one respect. Its preface, as noted, is long and deals with many issues, but its structure also varies, as the book is divided into two parts, each of which with its own framework, including opening and concluding remarks. At the end of the first part Diodorus explains that he divided the book because of its length and adds that in order to maintain due proportion (a theme which I will refer to below), "we will conclude here the first section of our history" (τὴν πρώτην μερίδα τῶν ἱστορουμένων αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν). He then offers details about the second part, noting the first issue with which he will start in a sentence which opens with the words ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι (I.41.10). The second section begins with restating—this time in the third person—that Diodorus divided the first book into two parts (τῆς πρώτης τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων … εἰς δύο βίβλους διῃρημένης), then there is a reference to the subjects which he had already examined and finally, returning to the first person (ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ βίβλῳ … διέξιμεν), an indication of the topics to be discussed in the second half of the book (I.42.1–2). This introduction is somewhat problematic. Diodorus is not accustomed to writing in the third person, whereas the mention of the subjects of the second section, although made in the first person, is almost identical to that of the preceding chapter in its contents, but

differs in its wording. In I.41.10, for instance, he uses ἡ μερίς to describe each part of Book I, while in I.42.1–2 appears ἡ βίβλος. One gets the impression that the preface to the second part of the book had not been produced by Diodorus, but was interpolated later. A comparison to Book XVII might strengthen this assumption, for though it is also divided into two parts, it has neither concluding remarks nor a preface between its sections, but only one sentence indicating a transition to a new topic (XVII.63.5, 64.1).[33]

Yet my main concern here is Diodorus' first *prooemium* and, to be precise, its three last chapters (I.3–5) which shed light on some of his beliefs regarding the writing of history. The importance of dating an event is apparent in his criticism of the authors of universal histories who did not attach the proper dates to the events (I.3.2), and in his statement at the outset of his work. According to this, in the absence of any trustworthy chronological table for the period prior to the Trojan War he could not define the limits of his history with precision (I.5.1). Nevertheless, in his opinion, the difficulties involved in dealing with mythology should not dissuade historians from dealing with it (I.3.2).[34]

One may also learn about the role and the preparation of a general introduction to a historical treatise. Diodorus attests that he composed the *prooemium* to the whole work after he had completed the books, but before they were published. He maintains that the preface should include details regarding the subject matter of the books, define the chronological limits of the treatise and calculate the number of years embraced; this outline is necessary in order to inform the readers in advance about the whole plan of his history and, concomitantly, to deter those who are accustomed to compile their books while damaging the works of others (I.4.6–5.2). Diodorus' meaning becomes clearer in view of his complaint in XL.8, which is that his work had been used and parts of it published illicitly before he had finished it to his satisfaction. The contents of the

[33] See Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, p. 153 n. 1; Burton 1972, p. 141; Murphy 1990, p. 55 n. 88. In Murphy's opinion the paragraph which is written in the third person seems to be a later addition, while Burton claims that this may be true of the following sentence as well since it does not seem to continue the last words of Chapter 41, but almost repeats them in a different way. Indeed, one may argue that it is only natural that an author will make an effort not to use the same words in describing the same issues, yet Burton's suggestion seems probable, bearing in mind Diodorus' handling the transition from one part to the other in Book XVII, as Oldfather hints.

[34] Diodorus' approach to the myths resembles that of Hellanicus. See *FGrH*, IA, 4, FF 1–202 for the fragments of Hellanicus, and also Pearson 1939, chap. 5; Pearson 1942, chap. 1.

books follow this protest with an explanation that these are needed in order to expose any mistakes. Bearing in mind the encyclopaedic nature of the *Bibliotheke*, another purpose presents itself. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the depiction of the organizational plan of the whole work in its general preface enables the readers to study particular subjects without having to read it right through.[35] Diodorus' reference to the *Bibliotheke*'s scheme again in his last book might also help this kind of reader. Moreover, there is an obvious correlation between the author's words at the beginning and at the end of his work;[36] this is further reinforced by the fact that the above two sections were probably written one after the other. For not only does the author himself say that the introduction was the last section to be written, that is some time after Book XL had been completed, but the resemblance in his wording (I.5.1 and XL.8) also bears witness to that. While disowning any unauthorized use of his composition which might introduce mistakes into it and hoping that it would not be an object of envy (φϑόνος), Diodorus is aware of the possibility that later historians might find defects in his knowledge and he invites them to correct his errors (I.5.2).

The manner in which he collected the material and the types of sources that he used is another issue dealt with by Diodorus in his first *prooemium*. His personal travels to the countries whose history he records, during which he observed the evidence himself or conversed with people who had seen it, is one way to gather information. As he puts it, he visited many regions of both Asia and Europe "so that we might be eye-witnesses (αὐτόπται) to the most important and largest parts", since many mistakes have been made due to ignorance of the sites (I.4.1). His comments throughout his work prove that this was indeed what he had done. He recounts, for instance, events which occurred in Egypt καϑ' ὃν … ἡμεῖς παρεβάλομεν χρόνον εἰς Αἴγυπτον (during the time when we visited Egypt, XVII.52.6) and employs almost the same wording when he mentions his stay in this country during the reign of Ptolemy also known as the New Dionysus (i.e. Ptolemy Auletes, I.44.1). Opening his discussion of Sesostris, Diodorus states that, having found quite a number of versions regarding this king, he will make an effort to present the most plausible story, which is compatible with the signs (σημείοις) still existing in the land (I.53.1). In the third book, in a chapter dealing mainly with methods of working, he says that during

35 Rubincam 1997, p. 133.

36 Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, pp. 22–23 n. 1; Burton 1972, p. 42; Murphy 1990, p. 8 n. 9.

his visit to Egypt he met with many priests and conversed with not a few Ethiopian envoys (III.11.3). The priests of Egypt are mentioned in Book I as well, when Diodorus discusses their differences with regard to the foundation of the Egyptian Thebes (I.15.2), and although he does not mention interviewing them in this particular case, this is a further indication of their significance as a source of information. Eye-witnesses also appear in the account of the burial site of Osiris and Isis. Introducing the disagreement regarding the matter, Diodorus writes: some say (ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν)[37] that the bodies of these gods are buried, not in Memphis, but on an island which lies on the border between Egypt and Ethiopia, giving the signs (σημεῖα) which survived on the island as proof (I.22.3–4). Finally, at the beginning of his discourse of the Arabian Gulf (i.e. the Red Sea), while presenting the subject, he explicitly refers to his sources, saying that he learned about the region both from the royal records in Alexandria (ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων) and from eye-witnesses (παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν, III.38.1).[38]

This last example reveals a second type of sources used by Diodorus, namely official documents. To judge from the general introduction, these were mainly Roman. Diodorus names two means which brought his work to a successful end: one is his personal desire for the task, the other is the abundance of resources available in Rome for the proposed research, to which he had access. He states that the Roman rule over the inhabited world provided him with most accessible and numerous resources (ἑτοιμοτάτας καὶ πλείστας … ἀφορμάς) while he was living in Rome, emphasizing that he gained knowledge from the records (ἐκ τῶν … ὑπομνημάτων) which were preserved by the Romans through his wide acquaintance with their language (I.4.2–4).

Did Diodorus himself examine the documents at Alexandria and Rome, as he implied? The evidence suggests otherwise. First, referring to the records of other peoples in the following sentence (I.4.5), he maintains that he examined the affairs recounted by each one of them (τὰ παρ' ἑκαστοις ἱστορούμενα). This time his choice of words gives the impression that he did not use the documents themselves, but through history books which cited them. Secondly, in conclusion of his account of Mem-

[37] The translation of Oldfather 1933, vol. 1, p. 69—"according to some writers"—adds a detail which does not exist in the Diodoran text, while Murphy 1990, p. 27 rightly translates the phrase as "some claim".

[38] Sacks 1990, pp. 85–86 proves that Diodorus made the comments regarding eye-witnessing in the third book himself and did not copy them from Agatharchides.

non, he remarks that these are the details which exist in the royal records (ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς), as the barbarians say (φασιν οἱ βάρβαροι, II.22.5). Here, the mention of the barbarians hints that Diodorus did not see the documents with his very own eyes. Thirdly, it is possible that in the third book, where he mentions Alexandrian royal records, he actually means that he obtained the information through Agatharchides of Cnidus. His remarks throughout the book that he followed Agatharchides (III.11.2, 18.4, 48.4) and the fact that the latter was related to the Egyptian royal family reinforce this assumption.[39] Fourthly, since the only indication to a direct use of official documents in the *Bibliotheke* is an inscription dating from 61 BCE, commemorating Pompey's achievements in the East (XL.4),[40] it is doubtful whether Diodorus himself really saw any official records in Rome or elsewhere, as he suggests.

Another type of source, then, is the works of earlier historians. In light of his portrayal of his use of documents, one may not be surprised that Diodorus does not mention in his general introduction the histories of his predecessors along with his travels and examinations of official records. He merely comments, upon elaborating on his chosen literary genre, that he made his decision after he had inspected a variety of works (I.3.5) and, while discussing the chronological limits of his composition, states that he adopted the chronological table of the Athenian Apollodorus (I.5.1). Throughout the work, however, his treatment of previous authors (be they poets, writers of myths or historians) is a different matter, for it is clear that he had no intention of hiding his use of them. Dealing with the Amazons, for instance, he states that many of the early poets and historians, and not a few of the later ones as well, have mentioned the Amazons, but he will depict them in accordance with the account of Dionysius (ἀκολούτως Διονυσίῳ, i.e. Skythobrachion, III.52.3, cf. 66.5). Likewise, in the preface to his tale of Heracles, he remarks that he will write his version in accordance with the accounts of the most ancient poets and writers of myths (ἀκολούτως τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις τῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ μυθολόγων, IV.8.5, cf. e.g. II.2.2, V.64.2). In the historical section of the *Bibliotheke*, one may find similar comments, though with a different wording. The causes of the Peloponnesian War, for example, are presented by Diodorus "as Ephorus has recorded them"

[39] See Sacks 1990, pp. 85–86, 118 n. 3 who argues that Diodorus had no access to any official records except through the works of previous historians. Rome's becoming an important publication centre made this an easy task.

[40] Cf. Plin., *NH*, VII.97–98.

(ὡς Ἔφορος ἀνέγραψε, XII.41.1, cf. e.g. XIII.41.3, 109.2), whereas his data concerning the size of Hannibal's army on his expedition against Sicily are given both ὡς μὲν Ἔφορος ἀνέγραψε and ὡς δὲ Τίμαιός φησιν (as Timaeus says, XIII.54.5, cf. XIII.60.5, 80.5).[41]

The parts of his treatise in which Diodorus refers to the authors whose works he used shed light not only on their identity, but also on his methods of relying on them. The case of Hannibal's army, for instance, indicates that for certain topics he employs more than one source and, when discrepancies occurred, he introduced various versions (XIII.54.5). Somewhat later in his discussion of the war between Carthage and Sicily, he sets out the number of the dead in one of the battles both ὡς Τίμαιός and ὡς δ' Ἔφορος φησι (XIII.60.5), while recounting the Carthaginian preparations for a new campaign against Sicily, he again presents two different figures regarding the enlisted forces (ὡς μὲν Τίμαιός ... ὡς δ' Ἔφορος, XIII.80.5). Further examples may be found in the mythological section of the work. As many stories had been written about Dionysus, some of them monstrous, Diodorus states that he will endeavour to review briefly the main details given by each of them (III.62.2–3). Ending his tale of Semiramis, based on Ctesias, he notes that there is another version; referring to it in a few words, he concludes by saying that these are the opposing accounts concerning the Assyrian queen (II.20.3–5). One may easily find further examples illustrating Diodorus' method in both parts of the *Bibliotheke* (e.g. I.15.2, XIV.54.5–6) and, in addition, a reason for this method. Explaining that in dealing with myths, it is difficult to know precisely what has happened, he remarks that disagreements among authors are worth recording, in order to leave the decision regarding the truth in the hands of the readers (I.56.6).

Yet Diodorus knew how to sort and select the available material. In III.11.1–2 he notes the importance of a critical approach: we ought to distinguish (ἡμῖν διοριστέον) among the numerous authors who have written both on Egypt and Ethiopia, for some of them have put faith in false account (οἱ μὲν ψευδεῖ φήμῃ πεπιστευκότες), while others have themselves forged many details for the sake of winning souls, namely readers (οἱ δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῶν πολλὰ τῆς ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκα πεπλακότες), thus they may with good reason be distrusted (δικαίως ἂν ἀπιστοῖντο). Agatharchides of Cnidus and Artemidorus of Ephesus, whose works he

[41] See also XIII.85.3, 108.4, XX.79.5, 89.5 (ὡς [δὲ] Τίμαιός φησι[ν]); XXIV.11.1 (ὡς Φιλῖνος ἀνέγραψε); XXIII.8.1 (Φιλῖνος δὲ ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἱστορικὸς ἀνεγράψατο); XL.3.8 (Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης ταῦτα ἱστόρηκεν).

used, are mentioned as two successful authors, together with certain others who had settled in Egypt. This statement once again reveals the significance attributed by Diodorus to eye-witnessing: he considers good authors those who had visited the places about which they wrote. It is no mere coincidence that he refers to the matter in connection with Egypt, for he himself could be included in this group of *boni*. As he re-emphasizes throughout his work, and also in a sentence following the above cited (III.11.3), he stayed in that country for some time, conversing with priests and envoys.

It appears that the best study, according to Diodorus, is that which combines different types of sources, as it is illustrated again by his discussion of the Ethiopians in Book III. Diodorus claims that he composed his account after he had learned about his subject matter by asking questions of the above-mentioned priests and envoys (the verb used is πυθέσθαι) and examining the narratives of historians (III.11.3). Elsewhere, opening his description of the Arabian Gulf, he remarks that he will write his report by drawing on the royal records in Alexandria and learning by inquiry (again, πυθέσθαι is employed) of eye-witnesses (III.38.1). Thus the historian has to join together an investigation of eye-witnesses, an inspection of documents (which may be through the works of previous authors) and a perusal of history books.

Diodorus' consideration of his potential readers also affected his working methods. In the first *prooemium* he twice mentions his intention to write history according to a plan which might offer his readers (τοὺς αναγινώσκοντας)—or those who are fond of reading (τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσιν)—the utmost advantage (I.3.5, 3.6). In addition, his remarks throughout the work show that in some cases the length and the contents of his discussions were decided with the readers in mind. Occasionally, he feels that it is necessary to extend the talk for the sake of those who are eager to learn as, for instance, when he argues that the disagreements among authors are worth recording in order to allow the readers themselves to decide regarding the truth (I.56.6). Elsewhere, he writes that he will describe some of the Egyptian laws, especially those which are old, different or can offer "benefit to the lovers of reading" (ὠφέλειαν τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσι, I.77.1).[42] On another occasion, he apologizes for elaborating on Arabia and the products of the land, stating that he wrote many things

[42] See also I.69.2 where he notes, in much the same wording, that he will deal with Egyptian customs, both those which are most peculiar and those which can particularly benefit the readers.

"for the sake of the fondness of hearing of the lovers of reading" (τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσι πρὸς φιληκοΐαν, II.54.7). At times Diodorus prefers to shorten his discussion, again bearing in mind his readers. This is the case in V.77.8, where he omits the stories told by the Cretans of their gods because of the magnitude of the task and also because such stories would not be easy for the readers (τοῖς … ἀναγινώσκουσι) to understand.

In the historical section of the work one may find several examples: he would record the legislation of Charondas of Thurii for the edification of his readers (XII.11.4) and mention the causes of a war, so that the discussion of that war would be clear to them (XII.50.3). Moreover, he would dwell on the topography of the land before describing the battle itself, for in this manner the account would be easier for the readers to follow (XVIII.5.1). In addition, Diodorus believes that the historian should refrain from overtly tragic descriptions, bearing in mind the readers, who have no desire to hear the details when they can easily understand them (XIX.8.4).[43] His future audience, as previously noted, is also included in his considerations for devoting one book to one topic; he maintains that in this way history would be easy to remember and lucid to the readers, whereas half-completed actions interrupt those who are fond of reading (XVI.1.1–2). To return to the mythological part, Diodorus' awareness of his readers is further underlined by the following concluding remark of a chapter: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξέσται τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας κρίνειν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἑκάστου προαιρέσεις (with regard to these matters, then, it is possible that the readers decide each according to his own preferences, IV.47.6).[44]

The above list of methodological issues demonstrates the multifaceted role of the first *prooemium*. For not only does it open both the entire work and the first book, but it also illustrates the literary genre and reveals some of Diodorus' working methods which, together with his statements and practice throughout the *Bibliotheke*, contribute to our knowledge of the writing of history in antiquity.

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[43] Diodorus might have been influenced by Polybius' criticism of Phylarchus, in which the Achaean historian stresses the difference between tragedy and history (esp. II.56.7–16).

[44] The significance of the readers in Diodorus' eyes is also attested in I.3.2, 5.2, III.33.7, 52.2, IV.1.1, 8.3, XVIII.1.5, XXVI.1.1, XXX.15, XXXII.12.1. It is worth noting that the readers are mentioned in the very first sentence of the *Bibliotheke*: the authors of universal history provide their readers with an exceptional experience which entails no danger (I.1.1).

The Conclusions of the Books

As with the prefaces, the concluding remarks of the books have a certain recurring pattern. As noted, the closing paragraph, which usually consists of one or two sentences, contains a reference to the previous topic discussed, a few words which denote an ending and occasionally an indication of the first subject of the next book.[45] Again, such similarities also occur in Diodorus' wording.

At the end of Book II Diodorus notes that Iambulus included in his account some facts about India which were unknown at that time. He then adds: but, since we have fulfilled the promise made at the beginning of the book, we will end this book here (ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου γεγενημένην ἐπαγγελίαν τετελεκότες αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν τήνδε τὴν βίβλον, II.60.3). In the conclusion of Book XIV, he mentions Callisthenes, whose history begins with the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, relates to the limits of his account and then comments: but, since we (ἡμεῖς δ' ...) have reached the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes and to the danger which the Gauls imposed upon Rome, in accordance with the purpose at the beginning we will make this the end of this book (*κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν* τοῦτο τέλος ποιησόμεθα τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου, XIV.117.8–9). Closing Book XV, Diodorus refers to the final point of the works of two Boeotian historians, which corresponds with the year concluding his fifteenth book, and remarks: but, since we (ἡμεῖς δὲ ...) have detailed the events before King Philip, we end this book here in accordance with the purpose (stated) at the beginning (ταύτην μὲν τὴν βύβλον *κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν* αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν). He then refers to the next book, stating that it will begin with Philip's succession to the throne and include his deeds leading to his death, as well as other events which occurred in the known world (XV.95.4). These three instances show different types of concluding paragraphs but, at the same time, all three resemble each other both in contents and wording.

The phrases αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν τήνδε τὴν βίβλον and κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν appear in most of the books (also in III.74.6, IV.85.7, XI.92.5, XVI.95.5, XVIII.74.3); occasionally one may find only the latter phrase (I.98.10, XII.84.4, XVII.118.4, XIX.110.5). Diodorus employs a different wording twice, but still uses the noun πρόθεσιν—ἐπιτετελεσμένης τῆς προθέσεως (now that the purpose has been completed, XIII.

[45] For the role of these endings in an encyclopaedic work, see above, pp. 111–112.

114.3)—or the verb with the same root, προτιθέναι—*καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ προεθέμεθα* (as we purposed at the beginning, XX.113.5).

Similarities may also be traced in sentences which direct the reader to the following book. Comparing some of Diodorus' phrasings will elucidate this point. In I.98.10 he writes: τὰς ἑξῆς *πράξεις* καὶ μυθολογίας ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην *διέξιμεν*, *ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι* τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις πραχθέντα (detailing the affairs and myths next in order in the [book] following this one, we will begin with the deeds performed by the Assyrians in Asia), while in XVIII.74.3: τῆς δ' ἐχομένης τὴν *ἀρχὴν* ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος *ποιησάμενοι διέξιμεν* τὰς οἰκείας τῇ γραφῇ *πράξεις* (we will begin the [book] which comes next with the tyranny of Agathocles, detailing the appropriate affairs in [our] account). In XIX.110.5 and XX.113.5, having mentioned the next subject to be discussed, Diodorus adds that with this ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα τῆς ἑπομένης βίβλου (we will begin the following book). In XII.84.4 he remarks: τὰς ἑπομένας πράξεις εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην βίβλον κατατάξομεν (we will describe the following affairs in the book which follows); quite similar is his wording in XIII.114.3: ἡγούμεθα δεῖν … τὰς ἑξῆς πράξεις εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην βίβλον καταχωρίσαι (we think it fit that … we will set down the affairs next in order in the book which follows). Finally, in XVII.118.4 Diodorus states: τὰς τῶν διαδεξαμένων πράξεις ἐν ταῖς ἑπομέναις βίβλοις πειρασόμεθα διεξιέναι (we will endeavour to recount the deeds of the successors in the following books); somewhat differently he sums up Book XV and yet the reference is to τὴν δ' ἐχομένην (the book which comes next) and the words διέξιμεν and πράξεις also appear (XV.95.4).

Some of the closings begin with an allusion to the last subject discussed. In I.98.10, for instance, Diodorus writes that regarding the history of Egypt "the things which has been said are sufficient" (ἀρκεῖ τὰ ῥηθέντα). The same verbs are found in IV.85.7, where he states: since we have spoken enough (ἀρκούντως εἰρηκότες) about the heroes and demigods before ending the book, while in XVI.95.5 and XVII.118.4 he refers to the deaths of the kings: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν (after we have reached the death of Philip); ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν παρόντες (having reached the death of Alexander).[46] In other cases Diodorus points to the last date mentioned: having reached the year preceding (ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτόν) the expedition of the Athenians against Cyprus (XI.92.5); since

[46] See also III.74.6, XIII.114.3, XX.113.5.

Agathocles became tyrant of the Syracusans in the following year (κατὰ τὸν ἑπόμενον ἐνιαυτόν, XVIII.74.3). In addition, there are concluding paragraphs in which a combination of the above two variants are found. In XII.84.4 one may read both "with these matters, then, the Athenians were engaged" and "having reached (ἡμεῖς δὲ παρόντες ἐπὶ ...) the beginning of the war between the Athenians and the Syracusans".

The fifth book is the only one in which there is no ending of the sort described above. Diodorus closes it by simply remarking "we will record these matters in detail in the appropriate periods of time" (the reference is to the Cyclades, inhabited by the Greeks, V.84.4). In the first book, on the other hand, one may discover a concluding clause in its first part as well, which resembles in its structure an ending of a book, including the phrases αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν and ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι (I.41.10). The first half of Book XVII, however, has no closing remarks of this sort; it ends with a sentence which indicates a transition from the events of Europe to those of Asia (XVII.63.5).

Having scrutinized both the introductions and the conclusions of the books, one should examine whether Diodorus kept his word. Are there any grounds for the recurring phrase κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν (in accordance with the purpose at the beginning) in his endings? At the outset of the second book, for instance, he declares that he will deal with the affairs of Asia in ancient times, beginning with the domination of Assyria (II.1.3). Indeed, the discussion opens with the story of Ninus and Semiramis and continues with the history of Media, India, Scythia and Arabia. In the third book Diodorus is again a man of his word, as he treats Libya, Ethiopia and the Atlantians, according to his promise in the preface (III.1.3). The description of the peoples which dwell along the coast of the Arabian Gulf (that is, the Red Sea), included in the book (III.15–48), does not deviate from the initial plan, since he also states that he will add topics which are linked to those already recounted (III.1.2) and, in fact, in the preceding book Arabia is discussed.

Diodorus acts in accordance with his preliminary statements in the remaining books of the mythological section; this conduct is also evident in the historical part. In the *prooemium* to Book XI, for example, he says that his description will reach the year which preceded the war waged by the Athenians against Cyprus under the command of Cimon (XI.1.1), whereas the deeds of Ducetius, leader of the Siceli, which took place in 451 BCE, a year before the war, are the last incidents recorded (XI.91.1–92.4). In Book XIX, according to its preface, he intends to cover the tyranny of Agathocles up to the battle of Himera, fought against the

Carthaginians (XIX.1.10); the limits of the narrative show that this is exactly what Diodorus has done (XIX.2.1–9.7, 107.1–110.5).

The credibility of Diodorus' statements at the beginning and at the end of a book may find further support in another feature of his writing: remarks which signal a change of subject and identical phrases at the opening of a discussion and at its closing. These, as the following scrutiny demonstrates, confirm that he adheres to his plan.

Clear Transitions from One Issue to Another: Identical Phrases at the Beginning and at the End of a Discussion

Sentences which mark the end of a discourse on a certain topic and the beginning of another pervade the *Bibliotheke*. Again, the similarities occur not only in the idea itself—that is, to make the narrative easy for the reader to understand and to follow—but also in the wording, as Diodorus employs certain recurring formulae. There are, however, certain differences between the mythological and the historical parts of the work.

In II.48.1 one may find a comment such as "we will shift the discourse to the other parts of Asia which have not yet been mentioned in the treatise and especially to Arabia". First of all, this remark is further proof of Diodorus' adherence to his introductory plan of the second book, as previously noted.[47] In addition, the phrasing μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπί ... (we will shift the discourse to ...)[48] reappears in a variety of places, giving the impression of a well-organized discussion. In IV.7.4, for instance, it is written "we will shift the discourse to the deeds of Heracles", while in V.7.1 he states "we will shift the discourse to the islands named Aeolides". Diodorus uses the same wording to turn the discussion to Europe in V.21.1, but in V.33.1 he changes it slightly to denote a shift to the Celtiberians (μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπί ...).

[47] See also II.34.7, 43.1, where, in a different wording (ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν), Diodorus expresses his intentions to begin his discourse on India and Scythia respectively. His conclusion of the description of Arabia in II.54.7 may be also brought forward in support of this point.

[48] The meaning and significance of this phrase may also be seen in its appearance in the *prooemium* to Book XIII. Referring to the habit of historians to open each book with long introductions, Diodorus maintains that by discussing a certain topic at the beginning "they shift the discourse to" the continuous events (XIII.1.1, this time the infinitive μεταβιβάζειν is found).

The expression recurs in the historical section of the work. In XVI.8.7 it is said "we will shift the discourse to the continuous events", as in XX.21.3 and in almost the same words also in XVI.65.9. In XVII.5.1 Diodorus states: "we will shift the discourse to the events in Asia", and similarly in XIX.49.1, where he turns the discussion to Europe. The last two cases closely resemble his conduct in the mythological books, indicating a geographical area as the new subject. This is also manifest in XX.37.7 and 101.1 shifting to "the other parts of the inhabited world". μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν διήγησιν (the narrative) ἐπί ... is traced in XI.20.1 to point out a turn from Europe "to the deeds of another people", while τὴν ἀναγραφήν (the account) instead of τὸν λόγον appear in XVIII.53.1 to signify a transition to the affairs of Eumenes.

Occasionally the verb μεταβησόμεθα is used. In III.30.4 it is written: "we will in turn pass on to" the issues which follow those that we have described before. The phrase μεταβησόμεθα πάλιν ἐπί ... reappear in IV.25.4 and, without the adverb πάλιν, in V.39.1, XI.23.3, XV.1.6; with πρός instead of ἐπί in XVI.5.1, XVIII.19.1, 54.1. It is interesting to compare the subjects to which the discussion turns. The wording of III.30.4—ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προειρημένοις—resembles that of XI.23.3 (except for the singular form τὸ συνεχὲς) and is quite characteristic of the historical section of the work in which Diodorus does not always specify the new topic. In XV.1.6 one may find ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας (to the continuity of the history) and in XVIII.19.1 the war in Cyrene is mentioned, yet Diodorus emphasizes that he will deal with it in order not to deviate too much from the continuity of the history, while in XVI.5.1 he shifts "to a different kind of events". In the mythological part, on the other hand, he turns the discussion specifically to Heracles (IV.25.4) and to the Ligurians (V.39.1), but he also does so in XVIII.54.1 turning to "the events accomplished in Europe".

In III.49.1 Diodorus employs another recurring formula to indicate a change of topic: "having examined thoroughly these matters, it will be appropriate to go through the Libyans who dwell near Egypt". Again, this reinforces the reliability of his statement at the end of the book, according to which he wrote "in accordance with the purpose at the beginning", for he treats Libya as promised in the preface.[49] The phrase οἰκεῖον ἂν εἴη διελθεῖν (it will be appropriate to go through), occasionally with εἰπεῖν or

[49] One might add Diodorus' remarks in III.10.6 and 61.6, summing up his discourse on Ethiopia and the Atlantians' account of the gods respectively, and in 14.6, revealing his intention to deal with the peoples who dwell on the coast of the Arabian Gulf.

ἀναγράψαι instead of διελθεῖν, reappears in order to indicate turning to a new subject: III.52.1 (the Libyan Amazons), IV.7.1 (the Muses), IV.40.1 (Heracles), IV.57.1 (sons of Heracles) and IV.59.1 (Theseus). Similarly, Diodorus uses οἰκεῖον εἶναι accompanied by verbs such as διαλαμβάνειν and νομίζειν. In II.32.1 he states: "we believe that it is appropriate" to introduce the various accounts regarding the Median Empire and then embarks upon a description of the versions of both Herodotus and Ctesias of Cnidus. This formula is also found in III.62.1 and IV.18.4 but, unlike the previous phrasing, one may also come across it in the historical part of the work. In XVIII.5.1 Diodorus maintains: "we deem that it is appropriate" to depict the causes of the revolt (of the Greeks who had been settled in the far eastern part of the empire left by Alexander), the state of affairs in Asia and the size and features of its satrapies. Next he reveals his reasons: to make the account easy for the readers to follow. The case of XL.3.1 is very similar; intending to discuss the war of the Romans against the Jews, he writes: "we believe that it is appropriate" first to go briefly through the founding of this nation from its origins and to describe its customs. The "historical" examples illustrate in the best possible way Diodorus' intention to create a well organized narrative.

The phrase οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι, again following νομίζομεν or διαλαμβάνομεν, is used by the author for the same purpose. In I.77.1 it is said: "we believe that it is not inappropriate" to our proposed history to introduce such Egyptian laws that were very old, different or can benefit the lovers of reading. The same phrase is used to denote a shift to the tale of the Amazons (II.44.3), the legend of the Hyperboreans (II.47.1), the reversal of fortune of Meleager (IV.34.1), the story of the straits of the Sicilian Messene (IV.85.2), the discussion of the European tribes dwelling near the British Isles (V.24.1), the description of the silver mines of Iberia (V.35.1) and in the historical section, the history of Messene (XV.66.2) and the depiction of the buildings of Persepolis (XVIII.71.3). οὐκ ἀνοίκειον may be also traced without εἶναι and occasionally with verbs such as ἡγούμεθα, we believe, instead of νομίζομεν and διαλαμβάνομεν (III.56.1, V.60.1, XIX.53.3), or with εἶναι in the third person (IV.25.2, XII.11.4, XIII.81.5, XV.44.1, 74.1).

In I.89.1 Diodorus states: "it is left for us to speak of" the deification of crocodiles. The phrase λείπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν πέρὶ … recurs in IV.60.1 (it is left for us to speak of the Minotaur), V.40.1 (it is left for us to speak of the Tyrrhenians) and VII.9.1 (it is left for us to speak of Corinth and Sicyon), but it can be detected elsewhere, with certain variations. In V.80.1 διελθεῖν replaces εἰπεῖν to indicate the beginning of

the discussion of the peoples who mingled with the Cretans; in V.10.1 the infinitive is ἀποδοῦναι (it is left for us to give the causes for the prosperity of the city of the Liparians); in III.31.4 ἡμῖν is missing and ὑπέρ replaces περί, as Diodorus turns to deal with two peoples, the Ethiopians and the Trogodytes. Apart from the seventh book of the historical portion of the *Bibliotheke*, λείπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ … is traced in XII.19.1 to open the story of Charondas' death.

The expression ῥητέον δ' ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ … is another variation, indicating a transition from one subject to another. In I.94.1 Diodorus states "we must tell also of" the Egyptian lawgivers. He employs the same words to present the Ichthyophagi's fourth type of dwelling-places (III.19.4) and the Chelonophagi's manner of life (III.21.1), while in XXXVII.7 he uses them to signify the beginning of his discourse on Roman men of lower rank who, nevertheless, gained a reputation. At times, Diodorus settles for parts of the formula. In III.4.1, making clear that he is going to speak about the Ethiopian writing, ῥητέον περὶ … is found, and so is the case in the *prooemium* to Book XX where, having completed his discourse on the incorporation of speeches in historical treatises, he asserts that he must now deal with the affairs under discussion (XX.2.3). Part of the formula—δὲ ῥητέον ἡμῖν—may also be traced in XX.101.4, when he says that he must tell of the occurrences in the neighbouring regions of Italy.

One final phrase ought to be examined. Compared to the frequency of the above formulae, it seems that Diodorus made more use of ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι accompanied with the infinitive. In most cases, there is also an explanation attached, clarifying the necessity to discuss the particular topic. The tale of Semiramis, for instance, opens with a declaration that it is necessary to tell beforehand (ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι … προειπεῖν) how she was raised from a humble fortune to great fame. Diodorus elucidates his reasons for elaborating on her legend: she was not only married to Ninus, but was also the most famous of all women of whom we have record (II.4.1). The same pattern, with the infinitive διελθεῖν, appears twice in chapter 74 of the fourth book, turning to the stories of Tantalus and Ilus respectively (IV.74.1, 74.4). The case of V.6.1 is also interesting, since in one and the same verse Diodorus states that it is necessary to speak (εἰπεῖν) of the Sicani, since there is no agreement among the historians regarding them, and then employs the negative form (οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον) to say that there is no need to go through (διεξιέναι) all the details about them which are offered by Timaeus. In IV.60.1 one comes across two of Diodorus' formulae; as noted, he states that "it is left for us to speak of the Minotaur" and, having revealed his purpose (to complete the account of

Theseus), he says that it is necessary to go through (διελθεῖν) past events, so that the whole account may be lucid. In almost identical words (but with ἐκθεῖναι instead διελθεῖν) and a similar explanation he stresses the need to recount the events of the years before Thrasybulus was driven from the throne in Syracuse (XI.67.1). In somewhat different wording (notably with προαναλαβεῖν, i.e. to start at an earlier point), but still expressing the same idea, he turns to the past history of the Persian kingdom (XVII.5.3); he does so again with regard to the war which took place in Cyrene in 322 BCE (using προσαναδραμεῖν, i.e. to retrace past events, XVIII.19.1).

The phrase recurs in the historical part. In XII.38.1 Diodorus remarks that it is necessary to introduce in advance (προεκθέσθαι) the causes of the Peloponnesian War. Intending to inspect the causes of the war waged by the Thracian Sitacles on Macedon (XII.50.3) and those of the Lamian War, namely that which the Athenian waged on Antipater (XVIII.8.1), he uses the same words. In XII.58.2 he is again interested in causes, those of the plague which attacked the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War (ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἐκθέσθαι …).

In addition, ἀναγκαῖον is used without ἐστι. In IV.29.2, having revealed his intention to deal with the Sardinian colony which the sons of Heracles were about to lead, Diodorus adds: it seems to us necessary to go through the birth of the boys first (ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἡμίν φαίνεται προδιελθεῖν), in order that we may be able to present more clearly the story of the colony. The need to tell something first (ἀναγκαῖον προειπεῖν) appears in XIX.13.7 as well, relating to the occurrences of the Diadochian War. In IV.45.1 Diodorus shifts the discussion to the reasons for the slaying of strangers with ἀναγκαῖον … διελθεῖν. Stressing the necessity to go back to the early times of the inhabitants of Aeolis in IV.67.2, he employs ἀναγκαῖον … ἐκθέσθαι, while using ἀναγκαῖον αναλαβεῖν for almost the same purpose in V.65.4, namely, to explain the need to return to an earlier point in order to set forth a detailed account of the Curetes. The infinitive παραλιπεῖν, not mentioned elsewhere, is attached to ἀναγκαῖον in XVII.117.5, where Diodorus states that, since there is a disagreement among the historians regarding the death of Alexander, it seems necessary not to omit their accounts.

As previously noted, a formula consisting of οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον and infinitive can also be traced. In IV.56.2 Diodorus reveals his opinion that it is not necessary to record (ἀναγράφειν) all the statements made about Medea by the writers of myths and avers that he will add only those which concern the Argonauts. In XVIII.5.5, amid his descriptions

of the satrapies of Asia, he remarks that it is not necessary for the present purpose to write (γράφειν) the names of all the Greek cities lying along the coasts of the satrapies of Asia Minor in the empire left by Alexander. This, and the above list of expressions, proves that Diodorus was aware of the need to make his wide-ranging historical treatise readable and comprehensible for the readers. The fact that he usually places these phrases at the beginning of a chapter or at its end underlines his efforts to create orderly discussions, yet there are instances in which the sentences denoting a subject transition appear in the middle of a chapter (as in III.19.4, IV.18.4, 25.2, 85.2, XII.50.3, XV.66.2, XVII.5.3, XVIII.71.3 and XIX.53.3). There are many other phrases which mark the beginning of a new topic[50] but, to my mind, the examples given here portray a clear and intelligible picture.

In the historical part of the work, however, there is another type of sentence leading to a new subject, which is quite different from those found in the mythological section.[51] Whereas phrases referring to the subject under discussion prevail in the latter, indications of the time of the occurrences pervade the historical part. In fact, this was already noticed above, in wording such as "we will shift the discourse to the continuous events" (ἐπὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς πραξεῖς, XVI.8.7, XX.21.3, cf. XVI.65.9). Further support is found in certain formulae which mark the end of a discussion. The wording κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν appears throughout the *Bibliotheke* in numerous concluding sentences of a discourse. More common is the phrasing ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν (these deeds, then, were accomplished in this year, XI.37.7),[52] but one may also trace variations such as τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀξιολογώτατα τῶν πραχθέντων κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστίν (these are almost

[50] See, for example, II.38.3—the most learned among the Indians tell a myth "of which it may be appropriate to go through briefly", περὶ οὗ καθῆκον ἂν εἴη συντόμως διελθεῖν—and also the recurrence of sentences containing νῦν or νυνί (now) together with verbs such as διελθεῖν (to go through) or διεξιέναι (to relate in detail) and περί (e.g. I.31.9, 69.2, IV.6.1, 54.1, 72.1, 84.1, 85.1, V.21.2, 23.1, 47.1, 64.1). Another formula consists of participles such as διεληλυθότες (we have gone through), προειρηκότες (we have told earlier) and the like to refer to the former topic, and ἐπάνιμεν ἐπί (we will get back to) or μνησθησόμεθα (we will mention) to point to the new subject, as in II.31.10, IV.28.4, V.12.4, XI.12.1, 89.8, XVI.37.6, 64.3, XX.34.7.

[51] For the division between mythological and historical time and the transition from myth to history in Greek and Roman historiography, see recently Feeney 2007, pp. 68–107.

[52] A search in the *TLG* revealed a further twenty-four places in which this phrase appears.

the most notable of the deeds accomplished in this year, XI.26.8) and τῶν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πράξεων τέλος ἐχουσῶν (when the affairs in this year had come to an end, XIII.54.1, 80.1, XIV.12.1, XIX.73.1).

Another recurrent phrase is τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος—it is placed in a sentence that closes one discourse and opens another, as in XI.41.1: τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἄρχων Ἀδείμαντος ... (as the time of a year passed, the archon in Athens was Adeimantus).[53] Diodorus assigns a similar role to the wording τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος/διεληλυθότος (when this year passed), which appears, for instance, in XIII.68.1 and XIV.19.1.[54] Yet in most cases he begins his description of the events of a certain year simply with ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι ... (while Xanthippus was archon in Athens, in XI.27.1, for example, and then follow the names of the Roman consuls),[55] which is a plain enough mark of a beginning of a new discussion. Interestingly, the one occasion in which this kind of phrase is traced in the mythological section supports the conjecture that it is typical of the historical part of the work. The expression τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διελθόντος is found in II.24.7, as in XII.32.1 and XXXVI.10.1, but whereas in the historical books it has the role of marking the transition from a certain topic to another, in the mythological one it is used for a different purpose, that is to continue the description of a conspiracy against the Assyrian king after one year had passed.

Moreover, there are opening and closing sentences which point to a geographical area. These, like the references to time, are typical of the historical section of Diodorus' work. An interesting example is found in XI.19.6, 20.1; the phrasing *καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ* τὴν Ἑλλάδα πραχθέντα *ἐν τούτοις ἦν* (and these were the deeds accomplished in Greece at these [years]) ends one discussion, while the above quoted sentence—ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκούντως διεληλυθότες περὶ τῶν κατὰ Εὐρώπην πραχθέντων, μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπί τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις (having examined sufficiently the affairs in Europe, we will turn the narrative to the deeds of another people)—opens the other. In XIX.9.7 Diodorus closes his discussion remarking *καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ* Σικελίαν *ἐν τούτοις ἦν* (and these were the affairs in Sicily at these [years]), and begins the next with κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ... (in Italy, XIX.10.1). Similar examples are traced

[53] This phrase appears another twenty times, according to a *TLG* search.

[54] And in six and eight other places respectively (as a *TLG* search reveals).

[55] According to a search in the *TLG*, this phrasing is found in 105 places throughout the historical section.

in XIV.78.7–79.1, XVI.20.6–21.1, XIX.75.8–76.1, 105.4–5 and in other places throughout the *Bibliotheke*.

Phrases referring to time and place, rather than to the subject under discussion, at the beginning or at the end of a discourse, are another factor marking the difference between the mythological and the historical parts of the work. As noted, Diodorus wrote the latter chronologically, a method which, in the absence of any reliable information, he could not employ in the mythological section of his work. The chronological thread of the historical books corresponds both with the conclusions of the books, in which, occasionally, the year which terminates the description of the events is mentioned, and the opening/ending sentences of the various discussions. Both have no parallel in the mythological section. Nevertheless, one may also discover similarities between the two parts of the work, as the following comparison of concluding remarks show.

In IV.35.2 Diodorus writes: "these, then, happened to be the details of such description concerning Meleager, Althaea and Oeneus", which resemble a final note typical of the historical part: "these were, then, the details concerning the Athenians at these times", which appears in XIV.6.3 and with a change of subject in XVI.26.6, XIX.73.10 and XX.107.5. Both sentences, in addition, begin with τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ … Another example is found in II.20.3 and XL.3.8, where he concludes: Κτησίας μὲν οὖν ὁ Κνίδιος περὶ Σεμιράμιδος τοιαῦθ᾽ ἱστόρηκεν (Ctesias of Cnidus narrated such things concerning Semiramis); περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης ταῦτα ἱστόρηκεν (Hecataeus of Abdera narrated these things concerning the Jews). Though the use of ἱστόρεῖν is traced here in both sections of the work, it is naturally μυθολογεῖν which pervades the first five books. In II.39.1, for instance, Diodorus concludes the story of Dionysus according to the inhabitants of the mountainous region of India with the formula περὶ … τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν (concerning … they tell such myths) which he repeats in III.74.6, V.66.6, 69.3, 77.3, 83.5, and also in III.59.8, IV.6.3 with the passive voice μυθολογεῖται, and with οὕτω (thus) instead of τοιαῦτα in V.56.7. However, one may also find περὶ … τοσαῦθ᾽ *ἱστοροῦσιν* in the conclusion of Moeris' affairs according to the Egyptians in I.52.6 and περὶ … τοιαῦτ᾽ … *φασιν* in II.22.5 at the end of Memnon's story according to the barbarians.

Another recurrent formula, which reappears in the mythological part of the *Bibliotheke* but may be also traced in the historical section, is ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι (we will be satisfied with the things that have

been said). It is found in fifteen different places in the first pentad[56] and also in VI.1.11, 7.4, XV.49.6, while τοῖς εἰρημένοις as a replacement for τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι is found in I.41.10 and III.47.9. However, a concluding sentence consisting of the adverb ἀρκούντως and a participle (such as εἰρηκότες and διεληλυθότες) meaning "we have spoken enough about ..." is distributed almost equally in the two sections of the work. In IV.28.4, for instance, one may read: ἡμεῖς δ' ἀρκούντως περὶ τούτων διεληλυθότες (but we have spoken sufficiently about these matters), whereas in XII.19.3: ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκούντως τὰ περὶ Χαρώνδαν τὸν νομοθέτην διεληλυθότες (but we have spoken sufficiently about Charondas the legislator).[57] Diodorus also employs the synonyms ἱκανῶς and ἅλις (enough). The first goes with an infinitive (such as εἰρῆσθαι) following νομίζομεν, with a participle (such as εἰρηκότες), or with a declined verb (such as εἰρήκαμεν). In II.34.7, for example, he states: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλείας ... ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζομεν (we believe that enough has been said about the kingdoms of the Assyrians and the Medes), and in XI.89.8: περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἱκανῶς ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω (let what we have said about these matters be enough).[58] A less common phrase is καὶ/ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ... ἅλις ἡμῖν ἐχέτω (but regarding ... let this be enough for us) which appears in IV.6.5 and XX.2.3, 26.3.

There are other ways in which Diodorus leads his readers to the beginning of a new topic, but the above instances adequately strengthen the impression that he paid attention to the arrangement of his work. Both those who read the *Bibliotheke* right through and those who wish to consult it may benefit from this method; sentences starting with phrases such as "we will shift the discourse to ..." and "having examined thoroughly these matters, it will be appropriate to go through ..." inform those who look for information on a specific subject that they can skip the next discussion. The formulae used by him maintain, in addition, a link between the discussions of various subjects—as a concluding remark is usually followed by an opening sentence which clarifies the new topic—thus creating an unremitting narrative.

[56] I.8.10, 58.5, II.31.10, 42.4, III.11.4, IV.5.4, 30.6, 68.6, 71.4, 83.1, V.5.3, 10.3, 23.1, 46.7, 64.1.

[57] See also III.38.1, IV.57.1, 61.9, 64.1, 81.1, 85.7, V.7.1, 16.1, 33.1 and XI.12.1, 20.1, XV.1.6, XVI.64.3, XVIII.54.1. Cf. I.69.1 (διεληλύθαμεν ἀρκοῦντως) and IV.7.4 (τούτων δ' ἡμῖν ἀρκούντως εἰρημένων).

[58] See also III.33.7, IV.12.8, 84.4, V.81.1 and XVI.26.5, XX.53.4.

Emphasizing and Explaining Digressions

Diodorus' efforts to produce a well-organized account may also be seen in his custom to make clear any digression from the main topic, which provides, in addition, another means of facilitating the use of the *Bibliotheke* as an encyclopaedic work. Again, the discourse of the Nile provides a good example. He mentions the difficulty in explaining the swelling of the river and, remarking that many philosophers and historians have endeavoured to explain this phenomenon plain, he states that he will deal with their views briefly, "in order that we may neither make long digressions (ἵνα μήτε μακρὰς ποιώμεθα τὰς παρεκβάσεις), nor leave unwritten an issue which has been searched for by all" (I.37.1). At the conclusion of his discussion he asserts, as previously cited, "we will be satisfied with the things that have been said", but it is his purpose which interests us here: ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν προκειμένην συντομίαν ὑπερβαίνωμεν (in order that we may not overstep the brevity set forth at the beginning, I.41.10). Diodorus again uses the noun ἡ παρέκβασις (a deviation), but also the participle of παρεκβαίνειν (to deviate). In IV.45.1, amid the tale of the Argonauts, he argues that since history inquires into the reasons for the slaying of strangers, it is necessary to give a few brief details ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς παρεκβάσεως οἰκείας ἐσομένης ταῖς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν πράξεσι (especially because the digression will be appropriate in relation to the incidents of the Argonauts). Indeed, he entwines the issue of cruelty towards strangers together with the adventures of the Argonauts, discussing it in connection with Hecate, Circe and Medea. The sentence in IV.46.5, beginning with "after this the Argonauts left guards to watch the ship and set out by night with Medea", thus marks the end of his digression and the return to the journey of the Argonauts.

In IV.25.2 Diodorus deviates from his main subject (Heracles) in order to describe the actions of Orpheus. He states: since we have mentioned Orpheus, it is not inappropriate to digress and to discuss him briefly (οὐκ ἀνοίκειόν ἐστι παρεκβάντας βραχέα περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλθεῖν). His return to Heracles is also clear, using wording typical of a transition from one topic to another: ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ περὶ Ὀρφέως διεληλύθαμεν, μεταβησόμεθα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα (but after we have discussed Orpheus, we will again pass on to Heracles, IV.25.4). Similarly, he explains the shift to Meleager: οὐκ ἀνοίκειόν δ' εἶναι νομίζομεν βραχὺ παρεκβάντας ἡμᾶς ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὴν περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον περιπέτειαν (we believe that it is not inappropriate to digress briefly and to relate to the sudden change

of fortune of Meleager, IV.34.1). The end of the excursion is made clear in IV.35.2, already cited above (these, then, happened to be the details of such description concerning Meleager, Althaea and Oeneus), whereas the next sentence (Ἡρακλῆς δὲ …) elucidates the return to the deeds of Heracles. In XI.59.4, after a long discussion of Themistocles, Diodorus feels the need to explain: if we have been lengthy in our digression (εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν παρεκβάντες), we think it not proper to leave his merits unrecorded.

Diodorus also employs the verbs ἀποπλανᾶν (to stray) and ἐκβαίνειν (to digress) in order to indicate a deviation. Having completed his survey of the history of the Assyrians and before commencing with that of the Medes, he states that it seems not incongruous to discuss briefly the Chaldaeans of Babylon (II.29.1). He remarks at the end of his discourse on the latter: concerning the Chaldaeans, we will be satisfied with the things that have been said, in order that we may not stray farther from the proper history (ἵνα μὴ μακρότερον ἀποπλανώμεθα τῆς οἰκείας ἱστορίας); he then adds: having spoken of the destruction of the kingdom of the Assyrians by the Medes, we will return to (the point) from which we digressed (ἐπάνιμεν ὅθεν ἐξέβημεν, II.31.10). In X.24.1 one may find the following statement: we have made this digression (ταῦτα παρεξέβημεν) not because we wished to censure Herodotus, but to indicate that marvellous tales are accustomed to prevail over true stories. Due to the fragmentary nature of the tenth book, it is practically impossible to determine when and where this digression began; nevertheless, this case may also be brought forward in support of the assumption that Diodorus endeavours to write an orderly account. Another illuminating example is found in XVIII.19.1; having concluded the description of the Lamian War, he turns to the war in Cyrene, adding: ἵνα μὴ μακρὰν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀποπλανῶμεν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας (in order that we may not stray far from the continuity of the history).

In some of the above cases Diodorus promises to make his digressions short. Did he keep his word? While devoting less than one chapter to Orpheus (IV.25.2–4), one chapter to Meleager (IV.34.1–7) and almost two chapters to the slaying of strangers (IV.45.1–46.4), it seems that in dealing with the swelling of the Nile (I.37.1–41.9) and the Chaldaeans (II.29.1–31.10) he lengthens his excursions. Yet he himself thought otherwise, as can be inferred from his statement at the end of his discussion of the flooding of the river, according to which he will rest content with what had been said, so that he will not violate the principle of brevity

which he proposed at the beginning (I.41.10). It is probable that he sincerely believed that this principle had been maintained in all these cases, considering the scope of the information available to him.

Other Features of the Organization of the Work

Diodorus is, therefore, aware of the need to keep short his discussions of specific topics but, at the same time, he feels that he cannot omit certain others. Throughout his work he repeats the phrase οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν (it is not right to pass over). In IV.14.3, for instance, having remarked that "it is not right to omit" the gifts which were conferred upon Heracles by the gods because of his merits, he offers some examples, while in XVII.27.7 he argues that "it is not right to omit" the capture of Marmares by Alexander the Great on account of the city's change of fortune, and devotes a whole chapter to the episode (XVII.28.1–5).[59] An interesting case, which might shed light on another aspect of Diodorus' working methods, is that of XIX.98.1. Using παραδραμεῖν instead of παραλιπεῖν, he states that "it is not right to pass over" the nature of the Asphaltic Lake (i.e. the Dead Sea) without any information; next he offers almost the same description which is given in II.48.6–9, adding only a few new details (XIX.98). One would expect him simply to refer his readers to the second book. He evidently knew how to do it, though his cross-references backwards usually direct one to a relatively recent portion of the text for information.[60] In XVI.46.5, recounting the expedition of the Persian king to Egypt, he mentions the latter's arrival at the great swamp east of the Nile, named Barathra, remarking: since we have spoken earlier, in the first book (προειρηκότες ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ), about the nature of the marsh and the incredible mishap which it caused we will refrain from repeating these. A discussion of this matter appears in I.30.4–9. In XX.57.6, however, he fails to direct his readers to the right place. Relating to the capture of Meschela by the general of Archagathus, son of the Syracusan tyrant Agathocles, he comments

[59] See also IV.80.3, V.5.2, 26.1, 62.1, 70.5 and X.21.1, XI.59.4, 89.1, XVII.46.6, XXXI.15.1. In XXXII.10.2, the synonym παρελθεῖν is used instead παραλιπεῖν.

[60] As pointed out by Rubincam 1989, pp. 41–43. For Diodorus' cross-references, see also Rubincam 1987, pp. 317–321 and Rubincam 1997, pp. 133–134 (with emphasis on the important role of cross-references in encyclopaedic works). For a similar practice found in the works of Roman authors (such as Sallust, Cicero, Caesar and especially Pliny), see Starr 1981, pp. 432–434.

that this Libyan city was very large and had been founded in ancient times by the Greeks who were returning from Troy, "about whom we have spoken earlier in the third book" (περὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βίβλῳ προειρήκαμεν). Meschela is not mentioned in Book III; it has been suggested that, chronologically, a discussion of its foundation belongs to Book VII but due to the fragmentary state of the book, this cannot be established.[61] Nonetheless, it is possible that Diodorus thought that he had written about Meschela in the third book, which deals with Libya and its Amazons (III.49.1–55.11).[62]

At times Diodorus explains the purpose of not omitting an issue. In such cases he uses the words ἵνα μηδὲν παραλίπωμεν which appears in III.4.1 and III.66.5 with a participle in genitive—"in order that we may omit nothing" which is discussed of the Ethiopian antiquities/which is narrated about Dionysus—and also in II.29.1 and IV.74.1 together with ἀξίων and a noun in genitive—"in order that we may omit nothing which is worth" remembering/hearing. Elsewhere he uses μὴ παραλιπεῖν, as in two previously mentioned instances: XVIII.117.5, where he asserts that since there is a disagreement among the historians regarding the death of Alexander, it seems necessary "not to omit" their accounts, and XIII.52.2, where he decides "not to omit" the speech of the Spartan Endius since he spoke briefly and in the Laconian manner. One may trace it also in IV.77.9, a case in which he resolves "not to omit" the story of Dardalus even though it was an incredible myth, and XXIII.15.1, expresses his opinion that it is the role of history "not to omit" the policy of leaders.

Nevertheless, Diodorus recognizes the need to maintain a due proportion in his work, as attested to by some of his expressions and statements. Concluding his discussion of the first origin of human beings with the recurrent formula τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα (we will be satisfied with the things that have been said), he clarifies his reason: στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας (since we are aiming at proportion, I.8.10). The same phrase reappears at the end of the survey of the Egyptian opinions regarding the gods (I.29.6), in conclusion of the tales of Dionysus (IV.5.4) and Nestor (IV.68.6), and in closing the first part of Book I. In the last instance, Diodorus states that because of its length, the book is

[61] Oldfather 1939, vol. 3, pp. 358–359 and n. 1; Geer 1954, vol. 10, pp. 300–301 n. 2. See also Vogel's insertion of XX.57.6 into VII.7 in the Teubner edition of Diodorus' text (vol. 2, p. 136).

[62] Rubincam 1989, pp. 42–43 and n. 12.

divided into two parts, and adds: "since we are aiming at proportion", we will end it here (I.41.10). One cannot escape noticing that the phrase is placed at the end of a chapter, yet it can also be observed in the middle of it. In I.9.4 Diodorus states that he will not make an effort to determine the antiquity of each people, but to record in summary (ἐν κεφαλαίοις) what is said about it by each one of them "since we are aiming at proportion", whereas in VI.1.3, stating that there are many accounts about the terrestrial gods and mentioning some of the authors, he notes that he will make an attempt to go briefly (συντόμως) through them "since we are aiming at proportion".

The use of expressions such as the above ἐν κεφαλαίοις and συντόμως, as well as τὰ κατὰ μέρος ("one by one", or rather "in detail") and ἀκριβῶς (accurately), is another indication of Diodorus' emphasis on due proportion in his work and shows that he pays attention to the extent of his discussions of the various subjects. The phrase ἐν κεφαλαίοις appears not only when he speaks of the proportion in his work (I.9.4), or explains a digression from the main topic (I.37.1), but also when he introduces a new subject or concludes one, and clarifies his decision to deal with a certain topic or to curtail another. In I.29.6 he comments that concerning the land of Egypt and the Nile he will make an attempt to relate to each issue "in summary". In a similar fashion he opens his discourse of the Egyptian customs (I.69.2), the tale of Dionysus according to Dionysius Scytobrachion (III.66.5) and the story of the Cretan gods (V.64.2). In III.21.6 he closes his discourse on the Ichthyophagi remarking that, speaking "in summary", these are their tribes and their ways of living. Explaining his decision to treat the Amazons, he states that he will endeavour to record their deeds "in summary" since many poets and historians have referred to them (III.52.3); he clarifies his intentions to present "in summary" the myth regarding the immortals (since doing so in detail would require a long account, I.6.1), and his reasons for reverting to earlier times and telling the story of Pelops, Tantalus and Oenomaus from the beginning (since this will serve his purpose to describe the affairs of these three figures, IV.73.1); he also plans to relate to the origins of the Jews and their customs, as he considers this appropriate before recounting their war against the Romans (XL.3.1), and makes it clear why he is going to write the history of Messene (XV.66.2) and Thebes (XIX.53.3) "in summary" (since these cities have been conquered and destroyed many times). He explains the need to shorten a discussion in IV.7.1: since he referred to the Muses in the tale of Dionysus, it may be suitable to recount their story "in summary".

Diodorus' intention to write briefly is also manifest in his use of τὰ κεφάλαια. Concluding his discussion of the Atlantians, he writes at the end of a chapter: these are "the main facts" concerning the discourses of the Atlantians about the gods (III.61.6). Yet the phrase also appears at the beginning of a chapter, in a sentence which both closes the previous discussion and opens a new one: after we have gone through "the main facts" regarding the peoples (who dwell along the coast of the ocean as far as India) and their ways of living which are considered astounding, we will relate to the wild animals of the land (III.35.1). It may also be found in the middle of a chapter; in III.62.3 Diodorus states: we will make an attempt to include briefly "the main facts" which are told (about Dionysus) by each author, and in II.32.3: we have mentioned in advance "the main facts" (regarding Media) and later we will describe them accurately in detail (τὰ κατὰ μέρος ... ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν), when we come to the suitable periods of time. The latter instance reveals some interesting syntax: τὰ κεφάλαια in the first part of the sentence, τὰ κατὰ μέρος with ἀκριβῶς in the second. It is traced in I.6.1–2 with ἐν κεφαλαίοις in one sentence, as noted, and ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν in the following; stating that he will present "in summary" the myths regarding the immortals since elaborating on it would require a long account, he adds that with regard to every race of men and all the affairs which occurred in the inhabited world "we will describe them accurately".

Hence Diodorus attaches to the adverb ἀκριβῶς a meaning which is quite close to "in detail". The appearance of ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν/ἀναγράψαι elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke* also attests to that. In II.34.6, having mentioned the Persians who defeated the Medes, he employs both τὰ κατὰ μέρος and ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν: "we will describe them accurately in detail" in the appropriate periods of time. In almost the same words he reveals his intention to deal with the causes of disasters (such as earthquakes) together with the opinion that these were the punishment of the gods for those who had committed sacrilege (XV.48.4). Yet in V.3.6, having mentioned the outrage of Artemis towards those who had eaten the fish from a fountain which had been dedicated to her, he remarks, omitting τὰ κατὰ μέρος: "we will describe accurately" in the suitable periods of time those occasions in which men were punished by the gods because they had desecrated a sacred place. Furthermore, ἀκριβῶς appears in XX.47.6 with δηλώσομην; referring to the destruction of the city of Antigoneia in Syria by Seleucus and the foundation of Seleucia to take its place, Diodorus adds: with regard to these "we

will set forth" each matter "accurately" (or, rather, in detail) when we come to the appropriate periods of time. The comparative ἀκριβέστερον is also used, with or without τὰ κατὰ μέρος. Having noted in the introduction to his twelfth book the Athenian victory over the Persians and their subsequent supremacy, he states: concerning these matters, we have described them more accurately and in detail in two books, this and the preceding one (XII.2.2). A similar statement appears following the mention of Alcibiades' return to Athens and his achievements in command of the Athenian army: we will speak about these matters more accurately (or, rather, in more detail) in the appropriate periods of time (XIII.37.6). In somewhat different wording, but again with ἀκριβέστερον, he declares: we will relate to these matters (i.e. to Eumenes' deeds mentioned earlier) in more detail a little later at the appropriate points of time (XVIII.53.7).

The last instance reveals two other recurring expressions which point to Diodorus' methodology: μικρὸν ὕστερον (a little later) and ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις (in the appropriate periods of time).[63] These may be found together as, for instance, in XVI.65.9; discussing Timoleon's voyage to Sicily, Diodorus mentions the Greek cities which were populated by the Corinthian general, then he adds: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος *μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις* ἀναγράψομεν (but we will describe these matters in detail a little later in the appropriate periods of time). However, each phrase may appear by itself, as when he refers to the relation between the size of the population of Egypt and the enormous building enterprises of its kings: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος *μικρὸν ὕστερον* ἀναγράψομεν (I.31.9), and mentions the destruction of Heracleia in Sicily by Carthage; or comments that Philip II was eager to be the supreme commander of the Greeks and to lead them against the Persians: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος *ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις* ἀναγράψομεν (IV.23.3, XVI.60.5). The above sentences, cited in their entirety on purpose, show that throughout his work Diodorus practically employs the same formula,[64] although he might exclude one of its ingredients. He might also change its beginning; nevertheless it retains its meaning, as in I.15.2, when he promises to deal with the discrepancy

[63] It should be noted that in XVIII.53.7 ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καιροῖς is used, but this is unusual. For Diodorus' cross-references forwards, see Rubincam 1989, especially pp. 40–41, 54–58.

[64] Compare to XII.2.2 mentioned above (ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβέστερον τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀνεγράψαμεν) and XIII.37.6 (ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀκριβέστερον ἐροῦμεν).

regarding the identity of the founder of the Egyptian Thebes: *περὶ οὗ* τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν ([the story] of whom we will describe in detail in the appropriate periods of time), and in I.92.3, referring to an Egyptian influence upon Orpheus' tale of Hades, he states: *ὑπὲρ οὗ* τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναγράψομεν ([the account] concerning which we will record a little later).[65] There are other phrases by which Diodorus indicates his intention to discuss a subject later in his work. Such are his sentences in III.44.8 where, comparing the harbour of Charmuthas on the coast of the Arabs called Thamudeni to that of Carthage, he remarks: περὶ οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος εὐχρηστίας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν (to the advantages of which we will endeavour to relate in detail in the appropriate periods of time), and in V.21.2, elaborating on Britain, he argues that Julius Caesar was the first man to have subdued the island and then notes: ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν (but regarding these matters we will describe the affairs in detail in the appropriate periods of time).[66] This sort of cross-reference, as mentioned, is also a means of aiding those interested in particular subjects to find more easily whatever they were looking for.[67]

The question to be asked now is whether Diodorus fulfils his promises. Since a systematic examination of Diodorus' declared intentions to return to the specified topics is beyond the scope of the present study,[68] I suggest concentrating on the above examples in order to get an impression of the credibility of his remarks. The remaining fragments of Book IX make it clear that he deals with Astyages, king of Media, and his defeat by Cyrus, the Persian king (II.32.3, 34.6; IX.22–23). In his sixteenth book he is concerned with the link between disasters which befell upon the Greeks and committing sacrilege (XV.48.4; XVI.61–64), while in the fourteenth book, in his discourse on the plunder of the temples of Demeter and Core (V.3.6; XIV.63.1–5, 70.4–71.4), he pays attention to the punishments which the gods inflicted upon those who had desecrated shrines. The discussion of Athenian affairs is continued in Book XII, as

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[65] Variations of this wording may be found elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke*. See, for example, IV.29.6, V.6.4, 84.4, XI.64.3, 90.2, XVI.50.8.

[66] See also XIII.96.4, XIV.2.3, 117.6, XV.79.2, XIX.55.9.

[67] Rubincam 1997, p. 134 argues that Diodorus' method of cross-references resembles that of Pliny, and highlights the fact that cross-references appear most frequently in Books I–VI, so as to give the readers additional guidance going through the more complicated section of his work. See also Rubincam 1987, pp. 317–321.

[68] See Rubincam 1989, pp. 54–58.

stated in XII.2.2; and Alcibiades' actions, having regained the Athenian command, are described in XIII.41.4–74.4, as promised (XIII.37.6). To Eumenes' deeds Diodorus returns a few chapters after making mention of them (XVIII.53.7; 58.1–63.6), and so he does with regard to Timoleon's achievements in Sicily (XVI.65.9; 70.4–6, 72.2–5, 73.2 and elsewhere). The massive building enterprises of the Egyptian kings are referred to throughout the first book (I.31.9; 47.1–49.6, 66.2–6), while Book XVI is devoted to Philip II to its end (to comply with XVI.60.5). Busiris, according to Diodorus, is the other Egyptian king, apart from Osiris, to whom the foundation of Thebes is ascribed (I.15.2; I.45.4–6), and to Orpheus' tale of Hades he returns shortly after commenting upon this tale (I.92.3; 96.4–6). Finally, although a depiction of the harbour of Carthage is missing, it was probably part of the fragmented Book XXXII which deals with the demolition of the city (III.44.8; XXXII.1–26).[69]

Diodorus does not always make good his promises. To the destruction of Antigoneia and the foundation of Seleucia he never goes back (XX.47.6); nor is the destruction of Heracleia in Sicily by Carthage mentioned again (IV.23.3). And he does not touch upon Caesar's expedition to Britain since his history ends circa 60 BCE (V.21.1). Nonetheless, in view of the fact that the *Bibliotheke* did not survive in its entirety and the proportion between the references with which Diodorus complies (13) and those with which he does not (3), one may conclude that he does not make empty promises for the sake of embellishment or transition from one topic to another; he genuinely intended to treat the issues that he had mentioned. Furthermore, the reiteration of the phrase ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις in the first five books, as well as in the historical section, shows that he takes into account the chronological order of the events in the writing of these books, even if no linear line passes through them. This may be clearly seen in the previously cited cases, of which that of I.15.2 is especially illuminating for, having mentioned that Thebes was founded by a king other than Osiris πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν (many years later), he adds that he will deal with him ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις (in the appropriate periods of time). Yet it is worth while quoting I.69.1 as well: "after we have discussed sufficiently the affairs of the kings in Egypt from the earliest times until the death of Amasis, we will describe the rest (of the affairs) in the appropriate periods of time" (ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις).

[69] Oldfather 1935, vol. 2, p. 221 n.1.

The Structure of the Tales of the Gods and the Culture-heroes

Any discussion of Diodorus' working methods in a study which concentrates on his first five books and deals in particular with the journeys of gods and heroes ought to refer to the structure of his version to their tales. Such an examination demonstrates his use of formulaic wording and reveals yet another facet of the author's conception of history writing. Once more, I will focus on the stories of six figures, namely Osiris, Sesostris, Semiramis, Myrina, Dionysus and Heracles.

Since the account of Osiris is the only one whose beginning and closing are not made clear, it will be examined separately. The opening of Sesostris' tale, on the other hand, is marked by two sentences: the first concludes the story of a former king of Egypt—περὶ μὲν οὖν Μοίριδος τοσαῦθ' ἱστοροῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι (thus, then, the Egyptians tell about Moeris, I.52.6)—and the second clarifies that the new discussion is about Sesostris, starting with the words Σεσοώσιν δέ φασιν ... (they say that Sesostris, I.53.1). The tale ends with one of Diodorus' typical closing sentences: περὶ μὲν οὖν Σεσοώσιος ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν (regarding Sesostris, we will be satisfied with the things that have been said, I.58.5). A typical opening sentence may be found at the beginning of Semiramis' legend: "regarding her, it is necessary to tell beforehand (ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι περὶ αὐτῆς προειπεῖν) how she was raised from a humble fortune to great fame". This remark follows a statement according to which Semiramis was married to Ninus and was also the most famous of all women of whom there is a record (II.4.1). The conclusion of her tale is clear, though Diodorus does not employ one of his familiar formulae: περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατὰ Σεμίραμιν τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας εἶναι συμβαίνει παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι (regarding the affairs of Semiramis, then, such are the contrasting accounts among the historians, II.20.5).

The description of the deeds of Myrina is interwoven with those of the Amazons. Using a common phrase to indicate his turning to a new subject, Diodorus writes at its beginning: as these matters had been examined, it may be appropriate to go through (οἰκεῖον ἂν εἴη ... διελθεῖν) the things which are narrated about the Amazons who were formerly in Libya, in connection with the regions discussed (III.52.1). The first time he mentions Myrina, he points this up with the words τῶν οὖν Ἀμαζόνων λέγεται βασιλεύουσαν Μύριναν ... (it is said that Myrina, who reigned over the Amazons ..., III.54.2). The end of her

story is marked with a statement in which one can also discover a customary phrase of Diodorus: they tell as a legend (μυθολογοῦσι) that such (τοιοῦτο) was the end of the expedition which the Amazons of Libya made (III.55.11).

The tale of Dionysus consists of two parts, one of which is in the third book and the other in the fourth. The beginning of the first part is signalled both by the closing sentence of the previous discussion—these are the main facts concerning the discourses of the Atlantians about the gods (III.61.6)—and the opening of Dionysus' story itself: since we have spoken beforehand of the birth of Dionysus and his deeds according to the Egyptian records, in connection with the history of this land,[70] we believe that it is appropriate (οἰκεῖον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν) to add the myths told about this god by the Greeks (III.62.1). Both are typical phrasings of Diodorus. Next he states that since there is no agreement among the early authors concerning the birth of Dionysus and his deeds, he will make an attempt to encompass briefly the main facts told about the god by each author (III.62.2–3). He finishes this survey at the end of the book and, before concluding the whole book, closes the account of the god in a characteristic fashion: οἱ μὲν οὖν Λίβυες περὶ Διονύσου τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν (concerning Dionysus, then, the Libyans tell such myths, III.74.6). The opening of the second part continues the introduction to the fourth book. Having clarified that he will devote this book to the Greek myths, Diodorus specifies: ποιησόμεθα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Διονύσου (we will begin with Dionysus, IV.1.5–6). Ending this part he comments: regarding Dionysus and the myths told about him we will be satisfied with the things that have been said (ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν), since we are aiming at due proportion (στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας, IV.5.4).

The beginning of the tale of Heracles is also marked by a typical Diodoran sentence; it both concludes the preceding subject and directs the reader to the new one: τούτων δ' ἡμῖν ἀρκούντως εἰρημένων μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπί τὰς Ἡρακλέους πράξεις (since we have spoken enough on these matters we will shift the discourse to the deeds of Heracles, IV.7.4). The closing is also apparent: περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλέους εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐδὲν τῶν μυθολογουμένων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλελοίπαμεν (regarding Heracles, then, if we have been tedious,

[70] See I.11.3, 13.5, 15.6, 22.7–23.8, 25.2, 96.5, 97.4. This reinforces the credibility of Diodorus' cross-references. For his cross-references backwards, see Rubincam 1989, pp. 41–43, 58–61 (who does not, however, mention this particular case).

we have at any rate omitted nothing from the myths which are told about him, IV.39.4). Admittedly, this is not a regular concluding phrase of Diodorus, but it proves once again that he distinguishes between issues which need to be curtailed and those which cannot be left out. The story of the Argonauts opens in the following chapter with a familiar wording: concerning the Argonauts, since Heracles made the expedition with them, it will be appropriate to discuss them (οἰκεῖον ἂν εἴη διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, IV.40.1). The end is made clear by another example of a twofold functional sentence: but since we have sufficiently completed (ἡμῖν δ' ἀρκούντως ἐξειργασμένοις) the history of the Argonauts and the deeds carried out by Heracles, it may be appropriate to describe, in keeping with the promise which has been made (οἰκεῖον ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὴν γενομένην ἐπαγγελίαν ἀναγράψαι), the affairs of his sons (IV.57.1). The consistent use of fixed formulae may be seen in both parts of this statement.

Hence Diodorus creates a framework for each of the above five heroes' tales: a framework which indicates when each of them begins and where it ends. This organizational method makes the mythological narrative more readable (not a simple task to judge from the difficulties in recording the myths listed by Diodorus in the preface to his fourth book discussed above), and helps those searching for information on particular topics to find it more easily. Uniformity may be also observed within the framework of each tale; it is as though Diodorus creates a prototype and fills it with details concerning each of his chosen figures. To begin with Sesostris, after the opening sentence (I.53.1), he notes that there is a disagreement regarding this king both among the Greek authors and the Egyptian priests and poets, declaring that he will make an effort to present a most probable account, which agrees with the monuments still standing in the land (I.53.1). He then mentions Sesostris' father and describes his birth (I.53.2), his accomplishments (I.53.2–58.2) and, finally, his death (I.58.3–4); he closes with the concluding remark cited above (I.58.5). This pattern—consisting of an opening sentence, remarks concerning the difficulties arising from dealing with various versions of the myth, a description of the origin of the hero (or heroine), his (or her) parents, birth, deeds, and death and, lastly, a concluding remark—may be traced, with minor changes, in almost all the cases examined here.

Having informed his readers that he is going to discuss Heracles (IV.7.4), Diodorus explains the problems which he encountered in dealing with the myth of this hero (IV.8.1–5). He refers to his parents and the circumstances of his birth (IV.9.1–7) and elaborates on his actions (IV.10.1–38.2), his death and deification (IV.38.3–39.4), before closing

(IV.39.4). The structure of Dionysus' tale is slightly different, both because it is divided into two parts and because it includes several versions. Nonetheless, similar items may be found: an opening sentence (III.62.1, IV.1.6), a comment regarding the discrepancy among the poets who wrote about the god and the need to review their opinions (III.62.2–3, IV.1.6–7), a description of his birth and parents (III.62.3–10, 68.1–3, IV.2.1–4), his life and achievements (III.63.1–67.5, 68.4–73.8, IV.2.5–5.4), deification (III.73.8) and conclusion (III.74.6, IV.5.4).[71] The phrase which signals the beginning of Semiramis' tale (II.4.1) is followed by an account of the way in which she was born and nurtured (including a reference to her parents, II.4.2–4), the course of her life (II.5.1–19.10), her disappearace, turning into a dove and the consequent worship of her as a goddess (II.20.1–2). It is only after this story that Diodorus mentions a second version; having referred to it summarily (II.20.3–5), he concludes (II.20.5). The legend of Myrina is, as noted, mingled with that of the Amazons. Adjacent to its opening remark (III.52.1), the author is concerned with the difficulties involved in recounting the history of a people which no longer exists and reveals his preferred source (III.52.1–3). Afterwards, he depicts the characteristics of the Amazons and their wars, especially under Myrina's command (III.53.1–55.10), he relates to the manner in which she died, and concludes with one of his formulaic sentences (III.55.11).

The structure of the story of Osiris is exceptional. In the absence of any special sentence to indicate its beginning, it opens following Diodorus' statement, according to which Egypt will be the first subject dealt with in his work both because this land is the origin of the gods (I.9.6) and because the Egyptians believed that the sun and the moon, namely Osiris and Isis, are eternal and preceded all things (I.11.1). These details might explain the difference between the tale of Osiris and that of the above heroes; with regard to the structure of this tale, the discussion of Osiris, the first figure treated by Diodorus, begins very close to the opening of the discourse of Egypt, whereas thematically, Osiris cannot be divided from the history of Egypt. It is possible, therefore, that Diodorus did not find it necessary to insert a special sentence which points to the beginning of the tale, as he did in the case of Myrina. In addition, he does not speak of Osiris' birth, for he had already declared that both he

[71] References are given for both parts of Dionysus' tale; whenever there are three references, the second one refers to the account of Dionysius Scytobrachion which appears separately in the first part.

and his wife were both eternal and first (εἶναι δύο θεοὺς αἰδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, I.11.1). Instead, he records the origins of the names both of Osiris and Isis (I.11.1–4) and turns to the rest of their deeds (I.11.5–27.2). To Osiris' death, his burial and cult Diodorus devotes a whole chapter (I.21.1–11); however, he does not close the tale but continues with the accomplishments of Isis, at the end of which he presents another version of the burial of the two gods, explaining the reasons for the difference of opinion (I.27.3–6). The disagreement among the writers is also mentioned during the tale (I.25.1), while in the case of the other heroes it appears at the beginning. Without any concluding remark, Diodorus turns to a new topic which starts with the words "the Egyptians, then, also say that after these matters ..." (I.28.1). Hence, without the usual framework, the story of Osiris is still easy to follow.

Diodorus' tales of the gods and heroes, including that of Osiris, resemble biographies. Plutarch, evidently, distinguishes between history and biography, stating at the beginning of his *Life of Alexander*: οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γράφομεν, ἀλλὰ βίους (for we are not writing histories, but lives), yet even he occasionally refers to his work as a history.[72] Diodorus offers further support of the fact that no sharp line can be drawn between these two genres.[73] This is not the place to dwell on the subject for it requires a thorough examination of the biographies of authors such as Nepos, Plutarch and Suetonius. Thus I will merely point out that a comparison between Diodorus' tales of the gods and heroes and Plutarch's lives of eminent men reveals a similar structure. After an introduction

[72] For the cited statement, see Plut., *Alex.*, 1.2 (cf. *Fab.*, 16.5; *Galba*, 2.3: Plutarch believes that he has no obligation to give all the particulars of the events, which the reader may find in historical reatises); for Plutarch's use of ἡ ἱστορία with regard to his work see, for example, *Thes.*, 1.2, *Cim.*, 2.5, *Dem.*, 2.1, *Ti. Gracch.*, 1.1. For a discussion of Plutarch's stated distance from historians, see Pelling 1988, esp. pp. 10–18; Lamberton 2001, esp. pp. 71–72, and pp. 60–145 for the biographies; Pelling 2002, pp. 102–107 and passim. See also Russell 1973, pp. 100–116; Stadter 2007, pp. 536–540 for the characteristics of the *bioi*, and Stadter 1965, pp. 125–140 for Plutarch's interest in history.

[73] For a discussion of biography as "some kind of history" and for the history of biography, see Momigliano 1971, pp. 6–7 and passim. See also Geiger 1985, who underlines the difference between history and biography by comparing, for instance, Arrian's work with Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* (pp. 16, 29, 47–48); Pelling 2006, pp. 255–276, who examines history and biography in Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio; and Stadter 2007, pp. 528–540, who concentrates in Nepos, Tacitus, Suetonius and Plutarch. It is worth noting that Diodorus was apparently acquainted with biographies and autobiographies of gods. In I.27.3–5 he mentions both writers' accounts of Osiris and Isis and their source of information: inscriptions on stelae (found in Nysa in Arabia) of the god and goddess written in the first person which Diodorus also cites. For biography in Diodorus, see further Ambaglio 1995, pp. 83–90.

at the beginning of the first of two parallel biographies,[74] Plutarch generally elaborates on the family, the ancestors and the birth of the man; then he describes his deeds in detail and concludes with his death. Much the same structure may be found in Nepos and Suetonius. Nepos, who possibly was the first to write political biographies,[75] opens most of the extant biographies of his *De Viris Illustribus* with the name of the person, his father and native land, refers to the man's character, surveys his actions and concludes with his death, occasionally adding another paragraph to highlight his pre-eminence.[76] Suetonius begins his biographies of the Roman *Caesares* with a discussion of the family and the birth of the ruler, describes the course of his life and accomplishments, and ends with his death, often adding details such as the funeral, the contents of his will and the reaction of the Roman people to the death.[77] Diodorus' tales not only tally with these political biographies, but may themselves be considered political biographies since, as will be seen in the second part of this book, his heroes are mainly political figures.[78]

It seems that Diodorus, conscious of the profusion of issues discussed in his work and of their complexity, makes an attempt to facilitate its reading. His effort to create a narrative which is easy to read and to follow may be clearly seen in the framework which he gives both to the books and the tales of the heroes, his smooth transitions from one

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[74] In which he occasionally discusses methological problems to correspond with Diodorus' mention of the problems which he encountered in dealing with a certain hero's myth. See *Dem.*, 2.1–3.2.

[75] Geiger 1985, passim. For and against his thesis, see Wiseman 1987, p. 250; Dionisotti 1988, pp. 35–49; Moles 1989, pp. 229–233; Tuplin 2000, pp. 124–161. For the rough distinction between 'political' and 'literary' or 'cultural' biographies, see Pelling 2002, pp. 147, 301–307 with notes 25 and 28 pp. 164–165 for further bibliography.

[76] Such is, for instance, the case of Alcibiades (11.1–6). Nepos' biographies of Latin historians should also be mentioned. Indeed, that of Cato is a little different in its structure (Nepos mentions his death only to point out his eighty years of action [2.4] and ends with a discussion of his work [3.2–4]), but the author explicitly says that it is merely a summary of a larger biography of the man (3.5); the biography of Atticus, on the other hand, resembles that of the political figures (see Millar 1988).

[77] See, for example, *Aug.*, 100.1–101.4, *Tib.*, 75.1–76.1, *Nero*, 57.1–2. On Suetonius, see e.g. Steidle 1963; Cizek 1977; Wallace-Hadrill 1983, esp. pp. 50–72; on both Plutarch and Suetonius, see Syme 1980, pp. 104–128.

[78] Interestingly, Asher-Greve 2006, p. 326 constantly refers to Diodorus' tale of Semiramis as a 'biography'. In light of my arguments here, this is perfectly justified. See also Bissa 2010, p. 65 who, dealing with Diodorus' good statesman, adds "… biography rather than history appears to be the inspiration and likely source of information for Diodorus' inclusion of revenue policy in his characterisations".

topic to another, his notification of digressions and similar phrases which he uses. The spread of the latter throughout the entire work proves, in addition, that Diodorus did not merely copy his sources, thus reinforcing the conclusions of the preceding chapter. Furthermore, his recurring references to the contents of his book—be that in his description of the organizational scheme of the whole work in his general introduction and in his final book, or in the prefaces and conclusions of the individual books—make the *Bibliotheke* more easily usable by those who wish to consult the work rather than read it throughout. Readers of this type may also benefit from the cross-references of the author—who himself appears to regard his work as encyclopaedic history—as from his habit of underlining the end of a discourse on a certain topic and the beginning of a new one.

One gets the impression that Diodorus pays attention not only to the contents of his history, but also to its arrangement. He writes according to geographical areas and, whenever possible, embraces one subject in a single book; he explains his methods and lists their advantages. Furthermore, as he states in his discourse on the Nile (I.37.l), he finds it important to include all the material recorded by his predecessors, but also to add to it, as may be inferred from his discussion of his chosen literary genre (I.3.1–8). Nonetheless, he manages to shorten his descriptions of certain topics. Hence his editorial skills become apparent: he does his best to select and record the main details from the ample amount of information which he collected. Moreover, Diodorus' uniqueness lies in organizing his material on a combined basis—thematic and chronological. This is evident not only in the historical section of the work but also in the mythological one. However, the proportion of these two methods in each part is different due to the distinctive nature of each. His tendency to merge a variety of ways and means, rather than preferring one to the other, is reflected also in the manner in which he handles his sources.

Apparently, Diodorus made an effort to keep his word: in most of the cases he returns to deal with a certain topic, as promised. He usually abbreviates a discussion in accordance with his announcements that he will do so; the list of subjects which he introduces at the beginning of each book corresponds with its contents; and, although he includes in his work several speeches, some of them long, contrary to his belief that history should not be used to demonstrate the author's rhetorical abilities, he appears to have done so only when, according to his own terms, it was imperative. As a consequence, one may find the *Bibliotheke*, versatile and detailed as it is, convenient for reading.

PART II

MYTH AND HISTORY IN DIODORUS' FIRST FIVE BOOKS

CHAPTER FOUR

MYTHICAL HISTORY AND ACTUAL GEOGRAPHY: LEGENDARY HEROES WANDERING ALONG REAL PATHS

Descriptions of journeys made by gods and culture-heroes are a common feature in the first five books of the *Bibliotheke*. Various figures travelled all over the world, conquered countries and cities, contributed to the welfare of their inhabitants and, on the whole, benefited humanity in almost every aspect of life such as agriculture, trade, culture, religion and political order. These interesting missions will be discussed in the next chapter. At present I will concentrate on the geographical facet of the heroes' tales. An examination of the voyages of six of Diodorus' notable figures, namely Osiris, Sesostris, Semiramis, Myrina, Dionysus and Heracles, shows that Diodorus did not describe imaginary routes and did not invent places, but he drew on real geographical information. It will be a long discourse to make a thorough investigation of each of these journeys.[1] Thus I intend to scrutinize here a selection of sites visited by the gods and heroes and some of the notable roads along which they moved. The places and paths chosen will prove, I believe, that Diodorus planned to draw a real map of the inhabited world. Hence it seems that Books I–V were not only a significant part of Diodorus' universal history, as they record events of most ancient times, but also serve as a geographical introduction to the whole work.

In order to understand the essential role of geography in the first five books, it will be useful to sketch the route of each of the above heroes. Tracing their journeys, however, is not always an easy task. In some cases the starting-point is not clear; in others certain stations along the way are obscure. Dionysus' tale, where Diodorus faced several different versions and made no effort to reconcile them, provides a good example. In other instances, such as that of Heracles, we find quite a few campaigns attributed to one hero, occasionally without pointing out their beginning or their end. Nevertheless, we may be able to follow the main tracks of these six figures.

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[1] I have done this elsewhere: Sulimani 2004 (in Hebrew).

Osiris set out from Egypt. He reached Ethiopia and then made his way to India through Arabia along the shore of the Red Sea (i.e. the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean). After he had visited all the other peoples of Asia, he crossed into Europe at the Hellespont. Arriving at Thrace, Osiris left there Maron, his companion, who founded the city of Maroneia, whereas Macedon, the next country to which he came, derived its name from Osiris' son, Macedon, who stayed there as king. Osiris himself continued his march to Attica, his last port of call before he returned to Egypt (I.17.3, 18.3, 19.6, 20.1–4). The first stages of the campaign of Sesostris, also an Egyptian king, were identical to those of Osiris. There is, however, one difference: travelling from Ethiopia to India, Sesostris sent his fleet into the Red Sea, while he himself made his way by land. He visited, according to Diodorus, not only territories which were later subdued by Alexander the Great, but also certain countries into which the Macedonian king did not pass. This includes the crossing of the River Ganges and touring all of India as far as the Ocean. Turning north, Sesostris came to Scythia, Lake Maeotis (nearby he may have founded Colchis) and the River Tanais; again, places in which Alexander did not set his foot. Diodorus is not sufficiently clear, but it seems that the Egyptian king visited Asia Minor before conquering most of the Cycladic islands. Finally, he arrived in Thrace and then made his way back to Egypt (I.55.1–10).

Semiramis, the Assyrian queen, embarking upon her voyage from Babylon in the direction of Media, stopped at the Bagistanus Mountain, the city of Chauon, the Zarcaeus range and Ecbatana, the capital. She then visited Persis and other countries throughout Asia over which she ruled. Egypt was her next port of call and, marching into Libya, Semiramis sought the advice of the oracle of Ammon. Thence she went to Ethiopia. Upon her return to Asia, she arrived in Bactra and, attempting an invasion of India, Semiramis managed to cross the River Indus but then she was defeated and forced to go back to Bactra, where her campaign came to an end (II.13.1–14.3, 16.1–2, 18.1–19.10).

Myrina, accompanied by the Amazons, left her home intending to invade many parts of the inhabited world. Her home was the city of Cherronesus on the island of Hespera situated on Lake Tritonis. This is indeed the first time in the present survey that we come across apparently unknown places. Nevertheless, even here there are signs of reality, as it is possible to identify at least Lake Tritonis.[2] Heading westwards, the

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[2] References to the lake in the ancient literature, either in a mythological context or in a historical-geographical one, are quite copious. They point to the existence of Lake

Amazon queen arrived in the city of Cerne in the land of the Atlantians and then marched into the land of the Gorgons. The last site is again an imaginary one but, after leaving Libya, all the places that Myrina visited are known to be real. Turning eastwards, she came to Egypt, Arabia (possibly the Sinai Peninsula is meant) and Syria. Afterwards, passing through the Taurus mountain range, Myrina entered Asia Minor. She went to Phrygia, founded Priene, Myrina, Cyme and Pitana on the west coast and ended her campaign at the River Caïcus. Lesbos, where she founded Mitylene, and Samothrace were two islands which she visited before she returned to Asia Minor and was killed in battle (III.54.1–7, 55.4–11).

For the tale of Dionysus, as mentioned, we have several versions, four to be exact (III.62.3–10, 63.1–66.1, 67.1–74.6; IV.2.1–5.4). Since the first version does not include any description of a journey, and the voyages depicted in the second and fourth versions resemble one another, we need to sketch here only two expeditions. According to the first, Dionysus set out from Nysa in Arabia. This place, where the god was reared by the nymphs, seems to be imaginary. Yet there is reason to believe that Diodorus thought that it was real.[3] Having visited India, Dionysus left for Europe. He crossed the Hellespont and came to Thrace and to a place called Nysium, possibly on the Pangaeum Mountain, where an oracle of Dionysus was located. Boeotia was his last destination, where he either stopped at Thebes (to which, according to Diodorus, he returned, thus hinting that Dionysus commenced his campaign in the city in which he was born) (III.64.6, 65.4–7), or founded Eleutherae (IV.2.3–3.2). The third version given by Diodorus is that of Dionysius Scytobrachion. Nysa

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Tritonis in the Little Syrtis, now the Gulf of Gabes in Tunisia (e.g. Hdt., IV.178, 186–187, 203–204; Luc., IX.355–358; Strabo, XVII.3.20 C 836; Scylax,108, 110 [Müller 1965, vol. 1, pp. 82–83, 88]; Plin., *NH*, V.28; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog*., I.36; Ptol., *Geog*., IV.3.11, 19, 34ü). Further support is offered by the topographical features of the area, which indicate that a salty lake named Shott-el-Jerid might be Diodorus' Lake Tritonis. A thorough discussion and bibliography may be found in my doctoral dissertation (pp. 169–173) cited above.

[3] Diodorus mentions towns by the name of Nysa in Arabia Eudaimon near Egypt (between Phoenicia and the Nile), in India and in Libya. Without going into detail (which, again, one may find in my doctoral dissertation, pp. 226–251), I will simply say that, in my opinion, Nysa "near Egypt" of Diodorus may be identified with Scythopolis also called Nysa (now Beit Shean). It well may be that Diodorus thought that the Libyan Nysa of Dionysius Scytobrachion which lies on an island in the River Triton was also real, since the river had been identified as River Gabes in Tunisia. Finally, the Indian Nysa is a town near Koh-i-Mor, namely Mountain Mor.

in Libya was Dionysus' starting point. He came to an unknown Libyan city named Zabirna and established the oracle of Ammon. Dionysus then continued his march to Egypt, visited India and terminated his journey in Crete (III.72.1–7).

Heracles probably made his preparations for the voyage in Tiryns, his birth place (IV.9.1–10.2). Having arrived at Crete, he set sail for Libya. He may have visited Egypt, but then returned to Libya and proceeded westwards. While in Libya, Heracles stopped at Hecatompylus (Capsa in Numidia). He crossed the ocean at a point which was known later as the Pillars of Heracles and put in at Gadeira. Completing his tour of Iberia, Heracles marched to Celtica (Transalpine Gaul), where he founded Alesia and, crossing the Alps, came into Galatia (Cisalpine Gaul). He passed through the lands of the Ligurians and of the Tyrrhenians (Etruscans) and reached Italy. Heracles camped at the site where Rome now stands, that is in the vicinity of the River Tiber and the Palatine Hill. Heading south, he arrived at the Phlegraean plain, Cumae and Lake Avernus. Poseidonia (Paestum) was Heracles' next port of call and, pausing for a while on the border between Rhegium and Locris, he swam across the straits (now known as the Straits of Messina) and came to Sicily. He made a circuit of the entire island; setting out from Pelorias, he visited Himera, Egesta, Eryx and Syracuse. Heracles then turned inland, went through the plain of Leontini and arrived at Agyrium, Diodorus' hometown. Upon his return to Italy, he was detained in the site of the city of Croton. Choosing to go back to Greece on foot, Heracles made a circuit of the Adriatic Sea, passed through Epirus, ending his journey in the Peloponnesus (IV.17.4–25.1).

As one may clearly see, the journeys of these six mythological heroes seem as though they have been made by historical figures. They are, for the most part, well-planned; the heroes go from one point to another in a reasonable order and they usually return home, thus completing a circle. Apart from a few places, which I have indicated, all the sites are genuine. Moreover, each place has its own significance: some were known for certain historical events, others were celebrated for their special resources or wealth; some possessed a status of a trade centre, while others were of religious importance. Some of the sites, in addition, were geographical landmarks, while others were important crossroads. As I begin to scrutinize some of the sites, it will become apparent that the roads along which the heroes advanced were not only actual, but main roads, trade routes or paths along which armies were led.

Well-known events occurred in many of the sites visited by Diodorus' heroes. These events took place either in early times, in the Hellenistic era or, most significantly, in Diodorus' own time. In Egypt, for instance, two of the pre-eminent historical figures, namely Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, left their imprints. Indeed, we have also Diodorus' own visit in that country to consider; nevertheless, it seems that the deeds of both Alexander and Caesar influenced Diodorus' decision to mention Egypt in all of the above six voyages. It is especially manifest in the case of Semiramis, whose campaign is, in effect, modelled on that of Alexander. In Diodorus' account of both the queen's and the king's journey to Egypt (II.14.3; XVII.40.2, 49.1–2) one may even find similarities in his wording. Summing up their visit in Egypt, Diodorus says that Semiramis "returned to Bactra in Asia together with her forces", ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βάκτρα τῆς Ἀσίας (II.16.1), while Alexander "returned to Syria together with his forces", ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Συρίαν (XVII.52.7).[4] The journey of Myrina provides another illuminating example. The route taken by the Amazon queen from Egypt to Cilicia seems to be identical with that taken by Alexander except for the direction, as the king came to Egypt from the north, passing through Cilicia, Syria and Phoenicia (Sidon, Tyre, Gaza) (III.55.4–5; XVII.27.7, 32.2, 40.2, 45.7, 48.6–49.2). Caesar, like Myrina, travelled from Egypt northwards. Although he made part of the way by sea, one may notice the resemblance between his way (from Egypt to Cilicia via Syria) and the path of Myrina (*B Alex*, 33, 65–66; cf. App., *Myth*., 120). Indeed, one must take under consideration that this was a main road which was in frequent use in antiquity and that Diodorus, as noted, is accustomed of describing such main roads in his mythical voyages; nonetheless, Alexander and Caesar made their mark on his depiction of Myrina's tracks.

Apart from Egypt, the appearance of places such as Macedon, Ethiopia and Maroneia in the mythological voyages is also interesting as far as the events of the Hellenistic era are concerned. Macedon, needless to say, was a leading Hellenistic kingdom and, as such, played an important role in the balance of power both before and after Rome's intervention in the East. Ethiopia fascinated the first Ptolemies. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, sent Philon on a mission to investigate the country, a mission during which the latter discovered the island of Topaz.[5] Ptolemy Philadelphus,

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[4] For the similarity between the journeys of Semiramis and Alexander, see Sulimani 2005, pp. 45–63; for Egypt, see pp. 53–55.

[5] Plin., *NH*, XXXVII.108; Strabo, II.1.20 C 77; Antig., *Mir*., 145; cf. Agatharch., ap.

according to Diodorus, was the first Greek to make an expedition to Ethiopia (I.37.5). Indeed, he was not the "first Greek" to arrive in Ethiopia (at least Herodotus preceded him, putting in writing his impressions); nevertheless, this king initiated several expeditions to explore the regions south of Egypt.[6] In addition, Ethiopia attracted the Ptolemies because of the elephants found in its vicinity. Philadelphus encouraged the hunting of elephants as did his heir Euergetes I;[7] Osiris, says Diodorus, was captivated by this practice, like the first Ptolemies (I.20.1; cf. III.18.4, 36.3), while Sesostris compelled the conquered people of Ethiopia to pay a tribute in ebony, gold and the tusks of elephants (I.55.1). The city of Maroneia in Thrace became renowned in the second century BCE due to the quarrel between Rome and Philip V of Macedon over its rule; the Romans claimed to have liberated the city which was previously dominated by the Ptolemies and later by the Seleucids.[8] Yet I would like

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Diod., III.39.4–9. See *FGrH.*, IIIC, 670, p. 283, and compare with Cary, Warmington 1963, pp. 87–88 and n. 23, 27 p. 264. Both scholars argue that there were two different men named Philon. One, mentioned by Pliny, travelled to Ethiopia on behalf of Ptolemy I; the other is referred to by Strabo and Antigonus of Carystus. For Agatharchides, see also Müller 1965, vol. 1, p. 170 and Alonso-Núñez 1997, pp. 57–67.

[6] Hdt., II.29–32. Philadelphus dispatched at least three men—Satyrus (Strabo, XVI.4. 5 C 769; Plin., *NH*, VI.167), Eumedes (Agatharch., ap. Strabo, XVI.4.7 C 770) and Pythagoras (Athen., IV.183f, XIV.634a; Plin., *NH*, XXXVII.24; Ael., XVII.8–9)—while Ariston (Agatharch., ap. Diod., III.42.1) is said to have been sent out by his son, Ptolemy III Euergetes. On their expeditions, see Cary, Warmington 1963, pp. 87–88, who claims that all four agents were sent by Philadelphus. Euergetes, following in his father's footsteps, dispatched yet another delegation to inspect the nations living along the coasts of the Red Sea (Agatharch., ap. Diod., III.18.4). Further evidence of Philadelphus' activities is given by Theocritus, who counts the dark-skinned Ethiopians among the peoples whose lands Philadelphus occupied (*Id.*, XVII.86–87). What motivated the Ptolemies? It seems that they encouraged inquiry and promoted science out of curiosity and eagerness to learn. This is true, for instance, of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Strabo, XVII.1.5 C 789–790; Plin., *NH*, VI.167, VII.208). However, an ambition to expand their commercial connections with countries lying in those parts of the world and, at the same time, making Egypt a staging-post on the routes connecting East and West stimulated the Ptolemies to act south and east of their kingdom. Their main objective was India. See, for example, Rostovtzeff 1931–1932, pp. 737–747; Tarn, Griffith 1952, pp. 244–249; Bevan 1968, pp. 154–156; Warmington 1974, p. 6; Bowman 1986, pp. 218–220.

[7] Philadelphus: Agatharch., ap. Phot., 250.1; Diod., III.36.3; Plin., *NH*, VI.171; Strabo, XVI.4.5 C 769, 7 C 770, 13–14 C 773, XVII.1.5 C 789; cf. App., *prooem.*, 10; Euergetes I: Diod., III.18.4; *OGIS*, 54 ll. 10–12, 82, 86. For Agatharchides, see also Müller 1965, vol. 1, p. 111 and Alonso-Núñez 1997, pp. 57–67. For further discussion, see Rostovtzeff 1908, pp. 301–304.

[8] See Polyb., V.34.7–8, XXII.6.1–2, 11.2–4, 13.1–14.12; Liv., XXXIX.23.13, 33.4, 34.1–10, XLV.29.6.

to focus here on two sites which, in my opinion, underline Diodorus' tendency to lead his heroes to places which became famous in the first century BCE.[9]

The first is Hecatompylus. Diodorus says that Heracles, making his way through the waterless part of Libya, came upon an irrigated and fruitful land, where he founded a city of marvellous size which was called Hecatompylus (meaning "of a hundred gates"), because of the multitude of its gates. This city, Diodorus adds, continued to prosper until it was conquered by the Carthaginians (IV.18.1). Hecatompylus, to which Diodorus refers here, is probably Capsa in southern Numidia, about a hundred kilometres from the Little Syrtis. Diodorus does not mention a city named Capsa anywhere in his work. Hecatompylus, however, appears again, this time in the historical section of the *Bibliotheke*. Diodorus states that Hanno, the Carthaginian commander, forced the besieged town of Hecatompylus to surrender but, as the elders of the city implored him to treat them humanely, he preferred kindness to punishment, consequently receiving great honours (XXIV.10.2). Polybius, referring to the same incident, remarks that the Carthaginians appointed Hanno to the rank of commander in the war against Rome, because of his efficiency in handling the affairs of Hecatompylus in Libya (I.73.1).

Other sources do not mention a city by the name of Hecatompylus, yet a town called Capsa, which was founded by Heracles in Libya, appears in some of them. Sallust argues that the Libyan Heracles was the founder of Capsa, Florus says that Heracles founded the city in the middle of Africa, while Orosius ascribes its foundation to the Phoenician Heracles.[10] The association with Heracles is one factor which links Hecatompylus with Capsa; the location of both cities as well as their features reinforces the assumption that they are one and the same place.

The best description of Capsa is found in Sallust. Dealing with its conquest by Marius during the war against Jugurtha, he says that this large and strong town was situated amid great deserts. He attests to its fortifications and favoured site, saying that it was not only walls, arms and men that defended the inhabitants but, above all, its inaccessible position.

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[9] Alesia, Gadeira and the Alps also ought to be discussed in this respect but, since the last two provide examples of other characteristic sites of Diodorus, I shall deal with them later in this chapter; Alesia will be reffered to in the next chapter (esp. pp. 267–268, 269–270) as an example of the foundation of cities.

[10] Sall., *Iug.*, 89.4; Florus, I.36.1.14; Oros., V.15.8.

Sallust emphasizes that except for the immediate neighbourhood of the city, the land was arid, desolated and infested by serpents. He suggests three reasons for Marius' decision to capture Capsa, all of which indicate the importance of the town: because of the contribution to the whole war; since the undertaking seemed hazardous; and because Metellus (the previous commander) conquered the city of Thala, thus gaining great fame. Comparing the two cities, the historian maintains that there was just one difference between them: while Thala had several springs in its vicinity, Capsa had only one. The significance of Capsa is also demonstrated by Marius' thorough preparations for the battle, by his treatment of the town (burning it, killing its residents or selling them as slaves) and by the honour bestowed upon him for his success. One may get the same impression reading Sallust's description of Jugurtha's attempts to recuperate. He opens it by stating that the Numidian king lost Capsa and other fortified places useful for him.[11] Again, there is a reference to the town's strong position, but the fact that of all places Capsa alone is mentioned by name also calls for attention.

Though his discussion of the Jugurthan War is rather short, Florus underlines the uniqueness of Capsa. He writes that the city was fortified by waterless tracts, serpents and sand, and presents its capture as one of Marius' most important achievements in the war. In Orosius' version, on the other hand, the fall of Capsa appears as one of Jugurtha's dull moments in his war against the Romans.[12]

A comparison of Hecatompylus with Capsa reveals a remarkable resemblance. Both cities were large, situated in an oasis surrounded by deserts and had been founded by Heracles. Hecatompylus gained its name from its numerous gates, a detail which might correspond with the excellent walls of Capsa. Both towns prospered on account of their favourable site and, although there is no mention of Capsa's capture by the Carthaginians, it is quite possible that they did not overlook this valuable trade centre.[13] It is likely, therefore, that by Hecatompylus Diodorus meant Capsa.[14] His tendency to include well-known sites in journeys made by mythical heroes—be that in the Hellenistic era in general or in Diodorus' own days in particular—further supports this

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[11] Sall., *Iug.*, 89.4–6, 90.1–92.2, 97.1.

[12] Florus, I.36.1.14; Oros., V.15.8.

[13] See, for example, Gsell 1972, vol. 5, pp. 278–279; Gascou 1982a, p. 172; Talbi 1978, p. 414.

[14] See Dessau 1912, col. 2797; Smith 1846, s.v. Capsa; Fentress 1979, pp. 32–33.

assumption.[15] Capsa, as previously noted, is mentioned among the great achievements of Marius during the war against Jugurtha, towards the end of the second century BCE. The importance of the city is shown also in the fact that the Numidian king kept the royal treasure in it. Capsa's name appears again in the description of Caesar's struggle against his opponents in Africa. Strabo concludes the accomplishments of the Roman dictator saying that king Juba was killed, Metellus Scipio was defeated and several cities were ruined among which is Capsa. Interestingly, Capsa is the only town with some explanation attached: it was the treasure hold of Jugurtha.[16] It seems that Capsa was restored after its destruction by Marius and, by the middle of the first century BCE, became once again one of Numidia's main cities.

The advantages of Capsa clearly assisted the city in recovering its former position. As hinted by the ancient sources mentioned above and proved by modern studies, the site on which the town was built became a valuable crossroads. There were routes leading from Capsa to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and to the area of the salty lakes (of which the largest was Shott-el-Jerid, probably Diodorus' Lake Tritonis). A proof of Capsa's vitality, though in a later period, may be seen in an inscription according to which the construction of a road leading from Capsa to Tacape had been completed in 14 CE. This road enabled the Roman armies to reach the sea from the inner land more quickly and more easily.[17]

The topographical features of the land also contributed to the recovery of Capsa. Those, as well as additional improvements made by men, provided the city with its strategic importance. Sallust, as noted, states that Capsa was well fortified both by the deserts surrounding it and the walls built by its inhabitants. Thomas Shaw, who visited Capsa during his travels in Tunisia in the eighteenth century, adds one detail pertaining to the town's natural fortifications: it was enclosed by mountains on almost

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[15] This might help to solve yet another problem. Some have suggested identifying Hecatompylus with Theveste or Cirta which, like Capsa, were significant cities. They were situated at important crossroads and became Roman colonies after the Roman conquest. However, since Theveste is mentioned merely by later authors (e.g. Ptol., *Geog.*, IV.3.30), and Cirta did not play any significant part in Diodorus' time, comparing with that played by Capsa (e.g. Diod., XXXIV/XXXV.31.1; Strabo, XVII.3.7 C 828, XVII.3.13 C 832), it seems appropriate to identify Hecatompylus with Capsa. See also Smith 1856, s.v. Theveste, Cirta.

[16] Strabo, XVII.3.12 C 831; Oros., V.15.8.

[17] *ILS*, 151. See Gsell 1972, vol. 2, pp. 98–99, vol. 5, pp. 278–279, vol. 7, p. 231; Février 1989, vol. 2, map p. 124; Gascou 1982a, p. 172; Fentress 1979, pp. 23, 33, 66; Salama 1987, p. 156; Raven 1993, pp. 66–70; Trousset 1993, vol. 12, pp. 1757–1759; Talbi 1978, p. 415.

each of its sides. The significance of Capsa's location is well expressed by Tissot, who argues that Capsa was at the same time the "gates" of the Sahara and the "keys" of the land called Tell.[18]

References to Capsa in works dealing with geography in the second, third and fourth centuries CE are further proof of her continuing existence and significance. Capsa is one of the cities mentioned in Ptolemy's list of African settlements, a site in a record of the routes in the area and a place in the "map of the world". Pliny mentions the Capsitani among the tribes of Numidia; there might be some relation between them and the city of Capsa.[19] Archaeological findings and inscriptions attest to an interest in the town shown by the Roman emperors, especially Trajan and Hadrian. They further fortified it, granting it the status of a *municipium*.[20] It appears, then, that Capsa maintained its eminence for generations. Even now, with Gafsa as its modern name, the city holds the position of the capital of a district and, as in ancient times, gains advantages on account of its location.[21]

If Hecatompylus is Capsa, then Heracles, a mythical hero, arrived in a real and paramount town. Its reputation was noised about in the first century BCE, even in the very same years that Diodorus was working on his history. Caesar, as previously noticed, destroyed Capsa while fighting the followers of Pompey, who sought refuge in Numidia, and king Juba, who assisted them. At the same time, Publius Sittius, acting independently in the country, conquered one of Juba's fortresses.[22] Later, in 21–20 BCE, the young Cornelius Balbus who, together with his uncle, received the grant of Roman citizenship from Pompey, operated in Numidia. Although the borders of the area in which he took action cannot be fixed with certainty, it is quite possible that Capsa was included.[23] When Balbus celebrated a

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[18] Shaw 1972, pp. 209–210; Tissot 1888, p. 668. Other studies refer to the importance of Capsa's location: Gsell 1972, vol. 2, pp. 98–99, vol. 5, pp. 278–279; Gascou 1982a, pp. 172–173; Talbi 1978, pp. 415–416; Trousset 1993, p. 1757.

[19] Ptol., *Geog.*, IV.3.39; *It. Ant.*, 77.7; *Tab. Peut.*, V.1; Plin., *NH*, V.30. See Fentress 1979, p. 47; Février 1989, vol. 2, p. 123; cf. Grébénart 1976, passim; Grébénart 1993, vol. 12, pp. 1760–1770.

[20] For details and discussion of the archaeological findings and the inscriptions, see Tissot 1888, pp. 663–673; Saumagne 1962, pp. 519–531; Gascou 1982a, pp. 172–173; Gascou 1982b, p. 303; Février 1989, vol. 1, pp. 106–108; Durliat 1981, pp. 29–35; Talbi 1978, pp. 415–416.

[21] See, for example, Talbi 1978, pp. 414–415.

[22] E.g. Strabo, XVII.3.12 C 831; *B. Afr.*, 22, 36; Plut., *Caes.*, 42.

[23] Plin., *NH*, V.35–38; cf. Strabo, III.5.3 C 169; Vell. Pat., II.51.3: See, for example, Desanges 1956, pp. 213–214; Fentress 1979, p. 23.

triumph on account of his victory over the Garamantes, Diodorus was probably already dead; however, this event may be evidence of the Roman interest in the region towards the end of Diodorus' life.

The second site that highlights Diodorus' preference to lead his heroes to places which became renowned, especially in the first century BCE, is the Phlegraean plain. Unintentionally, this, too, appears in the journey of Heracles. Diodorus states that Heracles, making his way down the coast of the land which now bears the name of Italy, arrived in the Cumaean plain. This plain, he adds, was also called Phlegraean (fiery) from the neighbouring volcano of Vesuvius (IV.21.5). The geographical setting, the natural features and the history of the region attest to the unique position of the Phlegraean plain in general, and in Diodorus' own time in particular.

To begin with geography, the plain was situated in Campania, the most fertile district of Italy, which Pliny calls *felix Campania*; and Virgil speaks volumes of its olive trees and vines. Florus goes further, in saying that Campania was the fairest of all regions not only in Italy but in the whole world. He praises its pleasant climate, the fertility of the soil, the mountains with their vines, the lakes, the famous harbours and cities. He also mentions the names of some of the eminent sites of Campania, among them Cumae, Lake Avernus, Baiae and Mount Vesuvius.[24] All of these appear in Diodorus' tale of Heracles.

Much can be said of the significance of Cumae, the central city of the Phlegraean plain, which is also regarded as the first colony of the Greeks in the west.[25] Situated in Campania and close to the sea, Cumae had an abundance of grain, fishing areas and control over nearby ports.[26] Consequently, the city prospered, as can be deduced from the words

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[24] Strabo, V.4.3 C 242; Plin., *NH*, III.60; Verg., *G.*, II.221–225; Florus, I.11.16.3–6.

[25] It was founded by the Euboean cities of Chalkis and Eretria, possibly with the collaboration of Cyme in Asia Minor, hence its name (the Graioi of Tanagra also took part). Strabo, V.4.4 C 243; Verg., *Aen.*, VI.2; Ov., *Met.*, XIV.155; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, VII.3.1; Liv., VIII.22.5–6; Vell. Pat., I.4.1; Plin., *NH*, III.61; Stat., *Silv.*, IV.3.114–118; Scym., 238 [Müller 1965, vol. 1]; cf. Diod., V.15.6; Euseb., *Chron.*, p. 60 [Shoene]. See Grote 1907, vol. 4, pp. 134–138; Beloch 1964, pp. 145–158; Dunbabin 1948, pp. 1–11; Ridgeway 1973, pp. 5–28; Ridgeway 1992, pp. 32–35, 118–119, 122–125; Coldstream 1977, pp. 221–233; Boardman 1999, pp. 163–164, 168–169; Frederiksen 1984, pp. 54–116. Cumae itself founded later a colony of its own: Neapolis (Strabo, V.4.7 C 246; Vell. Pat., I.4.1; Liv., VIII.22.6).

[26] Ptol., *Geog.*, III.1.6; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, VII.3.2; Strabo, V.4.4–5 C 243, 4.6 C 245. Rome, facing famine, turned to Cumae for wheat: Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, V.26.1–5; Liv., IV.25.4.

of various authors who spoke of it as famous, rich and powerful.[27] Our main concern here, however, is the events that occurred in Cumae during the Hellenistic period and particularly in the first century BCE. The relationship between the city and the Roman republic had started on the wrong foot (it was Cumae who granted Tarquinius Superbus and his supporters asylum),[28] but turned into friendship. In 338 BCE, the inhabitants of Cumae had received *civitas sine suffragio* as a reward for not joining the Latin revolt and some twenty years later they were considered as one of Rome's firm allies.[29] In the Second Punic War, besieged by Hannibal who ravaged its fields, Cumae remained loyal to Rome.[30] Permission to use Latin as their official language was granted the inhabitants of Cumae in 180 BCE and proof of Velleius Paterculus' statement, according to which the city showed an outstanding loyalty towards the Romans at all times, may be found also in the behaviour of the Cumaeans during the Civil Wars of the first century BCE.[31]

As we approach Diodorus' own time, three more issues ought to be considered. First, the town was known for the Sibylla who dwelt in a cave, as well as for the oracle.[32] Interestingly, both Virgil and Ovid describe at length the encounter of Aeneas and the Sibylla.[33] This may be an indication of the increasing importance of the Sibylla during the reign of Augustus. The latter was indeed *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, but his interest in the Sibyllan Books went beyond his duty. He ordered the burning of some two thousand books of unknown or insufficiently famous authors but kept the Sibyllan Books; having sorted them, he placed them in the temple of Apollo in the Palatine and later gave instructions to make new copies of those that were damaged. Furthermore, in transferring the Sibyllan Books to the Palatine, Augustus not only put them in the temple of the god whom he regarded as his patron, but near his house, as though he intended to see that they were well taken care of and to supervise the

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[27] E.g. Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, VII.3.1–2; Strabo, V.4.4 C 243; Vell. Pat., I.4.2.

[28] Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, VI.21.3, VII.2.3; Liv., II.21.5.

[29] Liv., VIII.14.10–11, IX.19.4.

[30] Liv., XXIII.35.2–38.3, 45.9, 48.3, XXIV.13.6, XXVI.2.10.

[31] The Latin Language: Liv., XL.42.13; Velleius Paterculus: I.4.2; first century BCE: Cic., *Att.*, X.13, *Leg. Agr.*, II.86, 96.

[32] Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 95; Lycoph., *Alex.*, 1278–1280; Ov., *Met.*, XV.712; Stat., *Silv.*, V.3.172; Juv., III.2–3. Excavations uncovered the dwelling place of the Sibylla. See, for example, Maiuri 1947, pp. 110–119; Guido 1972, pp. 36–37. See also Beloch 1964, pp. 159–162; Lomas 1993, pp. 133–134.

[33] Verg., *Aen.*, VI.42–155; Ovid., *Met.*, XIV.104–155.

use of them.[34] The association of the Sibylla and Apollo is characteristic of the Augustan era,[35] and it is well demonstrated in Cumae, where both the dwelling place of the Sibylla and the temple of Apollo were found.[36] This is, perhaps, an additional detail connecting Cumae with the events of Diodorus' time of writing if he lived, as I believe he did, at least until 27 BCE.

Secondly, many distinguished Romans owned houses in Cumae as well as in neighbouring towns, in which they used to spend their vacations or to distance themselves for a while from Rome's public life. Sulla, having resigned his position as dictator, left Rome for his estate in Cumae. Cicero mentions the houses of Pompey, Catullus and, naturally, his own from which he sent some of the letters to his friends. In correspondence dating from 55 BCE he writes that Pompey arrived in Cumae and that he himself entertained quite a few Romans who came for a visit.[37]

The third matter for which Cumae became famous is the war between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompey which occurred at the very same time that Diodorus was engaged in writing his history (42–36 BCE). Pompey had sent his legates to recruit pirates in the vicinity of Cumae, while the encounter between him and the triumvirs took place near Misenum, after which the settlement of 39 BCE, which inspired the Romans with great hopes, had been called.[38] The war itself was waged partly near Cumae,[39] but more significant is the fact that Agrippa, having received the command of the fleet from Octavian, turned the city into his naval base. In his preparations for the pending confrontation, Agrippa constructed a new harbour and built vessels, recruited soldiers and took care of their training. The harbour was located in Lake Avernus and was connected to Cumae and to Lake Lucrinus by canals.[40]

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[34] *Mon. Anc.*, 7; Suet., *Aug.*, 31.1; Dio, LIV.17.2. See Parke 1988, pp. 141–142, 209–210; Potter 1994, pp. 83, 95, 150–151; Liebeschuetz 1979, p. 83.

[35] E.g. Verg., *Aen.*, VI.70–74, 98–101; Tib., II.5.

[36] For the location of the temple, see Maiuri 1947, pp. 102–106.

[37] Sulla: App., *BCiv.*, I.104; Cicero: *Fam.*, XVI.10; *Att.*, IV.9, 10, 11; *Acad.*, I.1, II.80.

[38] Strabo, V.4.4 C 243; Vell. Pat., II.77.1–2; Plut., *Ant.*, 32; App., *BCiv.*, V.71–74; Dio, XLVIII.36.1–38.1; Florus, II.18.8.1–9.

[39] App., *BCiv.*, V.81, 84–85; Dio, XLVIII.47.1, 50.1–51.5; Florus, II.18.8.1–9.

[40] Dio, XLVIII.49.2–51.5; Strabo, V.4.5 C 244; Vell. Pat., II.79.1–2; Suet., Aug., 16; Florus, II.18.8.6; Verg., *G.*, II.161–164; Plin., *NH*, XXXVI.125; cf. App., *BCiv.*, V.96. For the ports of Cumae, see Paget 1968, pp. 152–169 (for Agrippa's activity, especially pp. 159–169). For further discussion of the history and the archaeological findings of Cumae, see Maiuri 1947, pp. 93–131; Lomas 1993, pp. 7–8, 15, 66–67, 100–103, 165–177.

Lake Avernus appears in Heracles' journey, as noted previously, but it is Diodorus' additional statement that Heracles "constructed works about the lake" which draws attention. One cannot escape the thought that the deeds of Agrippa inspired the author. The Roman commander, having cut down the woods around the lake, connected it with the Tyrrhenian Sea on both sides; a canal led from the Avernus to Lake Lucrinus (itself joined to the sea by a canal which was cut through a dike); and a road paved the way from the Avernus to Cumae. The latter, engraved partly in a mountain, is interesting from an engineering point of view, as attested to also by its remains. The tunnel was named after Cocceius, who made it, and the harbour of the Avernus was called *Portus Iulius*, probably as homage to Octavian.[41]

Hannibal also used Lake Avernus for strategic purposes. He came to the lake from Capua and, hiding his real intentions—that is, attacking Puteoli—stated that he wished to make a sacrifice. Spending some time at the lake, Hannibal met there men who came from Tarentum.[42] This story reveals, in addition, a religious significance attached to Lake Avernus. Diodorus himself says that the lake was held sacred to Persephone and, like Strabo, tells of an oracle of the dead which had been on its shores in ancient times.[43] The distinctiveness of the lake can also be seen in its natural features, such as its incredible depth, pure water and dark blue colour.[44] This proves that Lake Avernus was a conspicuous site in

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[41] Verg., *G.*, II.163–164; Vell. Pat., II.79.2; Strabo, V.4.5 C 245; Suet., *Aug.*, 16; Florus, II.18.8.6; cf. Dio, XLVIII.50.1–4; Cassiod., *Var.*, IX.6.3. See Maiuri 1947, pp. 127–131; Paget 1968, pp. 162–166; D'Arms 1970, pp. 136–137, 210; Guido 1972, p. 48; Mynors 1994, pp. 122–123; Thomas 1988, vol. 1, pp. 186–187. Concerning Lake Avernus, Diodorus has one more detail. He states that the lake once had an opening into the sea, but some say that Heracles filled up the outlet and constructed a road which now exists along the sea and bears his name (IV.22.2). Cf. Strabo, V.4.5 C 244, who refers the same story to Lake Lucrinus, but admits that there are two other versions, according to which this was true of either Lake Acherusia or Lake Avernus. See further in the following chapter, pp. 257–259.

[42] Liv., XXIV.12.4, 13.1, 20.4; cf. Sil., *Pun.*, XII.106–157.

[43] Diod., IV.22.1–2; Strabo, V.4.5 C 244. Strabo cites Ephorus, according to whom Odysseus visited the oracle because the Cimmerians, to whose country Odysseus came (Hom., *Od.*, XI.14), dwelled there (V.4.5 C 244–245). Virgil also refers to an oracle (*Aen.*, III.441–444) and a later Roman poet, Silius Italicus, mentions a brutal cult of the dead which was performed around the Avernus (*Pun.*, XII.124–125).

[44] Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 102; Diod., IV.22.1; Verg., *Aen.*, VI.238; Strabo, V.4.5 C 244; Luc., II.667–668; Sil., *Pun.*, X.136, XII.120–121; Lycoph., *Alex.*, 704–705; Prop., III.18.1. Further references to the peculiar features of the lake are found in Lucr., VI.740–748; Non., I.14. For discussion see, for example, Maiuri 1947, pp. 132–141; Beloch 1964, pp. 168–172; Frederiksen 1984, pp. 76–77, 100, 242, 334; Guido 1972, pp. 47–48; Lomas 1993, p. 133.

its geographical setting as well as being celebrated for religious reasons. But to return to its historical importance, Heracles came to a region in which momentous actions had taken place in the days of Diodorus. To the political and military aspects discussed above, one may add a social one. Rich Roman men owned houses in the vicinity of the lake (namely in towns such as Cumae, Puteoli and Misenum), in which they used to spend part of the year. The main attraction lay in the hot springs of neighbouring Baiae.

Although Diodorus does not mention Baiae by name, he does refer to the hot waters near Lake Avernus, thus Baiae is probably meant (IV.22.1). A comparison with Strabo's description of the site, according to which Gulf Lucrinus is adjacent to Baiae while Gulf Avernus lies on the Lucrinus side, confirms this assumption.[45] The attitude of the ancient authors towards Baiae is ambivalent. They praise the place for its physical advantages and the benefits it offers mankind on the one hand[46] but, on the other, denounce it as a place in which corruption and lust prevailed.

During the first century BCE Baiae became a fashionable resort. The list of famous Romans who owned splendid houses (palaces is the word used by Strabo) close to Baiae is impressive. Cicero's estate was called *Cumanum praedium* but was located in the gulf of Puteoli near Lake Lucrinus. In fact, it was closer to Baiae than to Cumae. Marius, Pompey and Julius Caesar also possessed houses *in regione Baiana*, as the young Seneca defines the region. He argues that they chose to build the houses in the mountains, since the view of the area from above suited their militaristic nature. Again, the expression "the Baianian region" does not necessarily mean that the location was Baiae. While Caesar preferred Baiae itself, Marius chose Misenum and Pompey Cumae.[47] The examples

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45 Strabo says "gulf" and not "lake", V.4.5 C 244.

46 For Baiae's pleasant climate, lovely beach and hot springs, see Eunap., *VS*, V.2.2 (459). Further compliments are found in Mart., XI.80.1–2. For the quality of the water, see Plin., *NH*, XXXI.4–5; cf. Strabo, V.4.5 C 244, 4.7 C 246; Joseph., *AJ*, XVIII.7.2; Cassiod., *Var.*, IX.6.5–6; Celsus, *Med.*, II.17.1, III.21.6. Medical treatments are also attested to. The consul of 176 BCE came to Baiae to heal his wounds but died there (Liv., XLI.16.3); Marius was offered a cure for the illnesses of his old age (Plut., *Mar.*, 34). The only weakness of Baiae was a foul smell as a result of the fire and the sulphur, Strabo, V.4.6 C 245, 4.9 C 248; Hor., *Carm.*, III.4.24–25; Vitr., *De Arch.*, II.6.2; Sen., *Ep.*, LI.1; Florus, I.11.16.4; Stat., *Silv.*, III.2.17–18, III.5.96–98, IV.7.18–19; Prop., III.18.1–2; Joseph., *AJ*, XVIII.7.2. For one of Odysseus' companions as the origin of the name Baiae, see Strabo, V.4.6 C 245; Lycoph., *Alex.*, 694; Sil., *Pun.*, VIII.539, XII.113–115.

47 Strabo, V.4.7 C 246. Cicero's estate: Cic., *Att.*, IV.9, XIV.16, *Fam.*, V.15.2; Plin., *NH*, XXXI.6. Seneca: *Ep.*, LI.11; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, XIV.9. Caesar: Cic., *Att.*, II.6. Pompey: Cic., *Att.*,

are numerous. In some of the ancient sources one may even find detailed descriptions of the constructions and the extravagance. We read, for instance, that L. Licinius Lucullus purchased Marius' estate in Misenum for a large sum of money and invested more in rebuilding and improving it.[48]

The stylish houses were much more than a property to be proud of. Their owners used to live there for several months each year, to entertain and even to hold important meetings in them. Cicero's letters offer valuable information. In 55 BCE, for instance, Pompey visited Cicero in his villa, where they discussed public affairs. The orator Hortensius came to see Cicero in 51 BCE, an occasion during which Cicero asked him to see that his position as the governor of Cilicia would not be prolonged. At the same time, motivated by the large number of Romans who stayed in his house (or in the neighbourhood), Cicero wrote to a friend that he felt as if the *Cumanum* were a little Rome. A short while after Caesar's assassination, three of eminent Roman politicians, namely Balbus, Hirtius and Pansa, stayed with Cicero. The latter was present when L. Marcius Philippus accommodated Caesar and two thousand of his soldiers in his house in Puteoli in 45 BCE. The next day Caesar went to Baiae, apparently to his own estate. Less than a year later, it was Octavian whom Philippus entertained.[49]

But the region, and especially Baiae, was also denounced for the corrupt behaviour and looseness of morals of those who spent time there. An expression of this dual attitude towards the town is found in Martial, who claims that it would not be enough to praise Baiae in a thousand verses, yet in another epigram, writing of a woman who arrived in Baiae a Penelope and departed a Helen, he points to its notorious reputation. Seneca is more severe. In an epistle which he devotes to the occurrences in Baiae, he argues that luxury casts a shadow on the natural advantages of the place, asserts that one should refrain from going there and ends by stating that enough had been said against the vices of the place even though it would never be enough to speak against faults. However, we need not go this far from Diodorus' time in order to discover

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IV.9, 10. Marius: Plin., *NH*, XVIII.32; Plut., *Mar.*, 34. See D'Arms 1970, esp. pp. 23–26, 171, 182–183, 192–193, 198–200.

48 Varro, *Rust.*, III.17.9; Plut., *Mar.*, 34; Tac., *Ann.*, VI.50; Plin., *NH*, IX.170; Phaedrus, II.5.9–10. See D'Arms 1970, pp. 184–185.

49 Cic., *Att.*, IV.9, V.2, XIII.52, XIV.11, *Fam.*, XVI.10. See D'Arms 1970, pp. 182–183, 189–191, 198–200; Beloch 1964, pp. 175–176, 185.

the same sentiments towards Baiae. In a speech in defence of his client, Cicero, representing the latter as a man whose only crime was that he had seen Baiae, confronts the prosecutors who claimed that Baiae was synonymous with adultery, lust, parties and banquets.[50]

Notwithstanding the ancients' emphasis on the diversions offered by Baiae, Roman nobles who sought leisure together with cultural activities and learning found it in Baiae and the vicinity. As the area was a part of *Magna Graecia*, they could associate with Greek philosophers who stayed in Cumae, Neapolis and nearby.[51] They could also attend the theatre, where plays such as the *fabulae Atellanae* that originated in Campania, were inspired by Greek drama. Plutarch says that soon after the murder of Caesar, Brutus met many Greek actors in Neapolis, some of them quite talented and famous. He even tried to persuade one of the actors, whom he especially admired, to perform in Rome and, in a letter to Cicero, implored him to go and see the plays.[52]

Cicero, it seems, expected more than a visit to the theatre while in Campania. A feast, he thought, should be supplemented with interesting discussions. He confesses in one of his letters that it was written while he was sitting at the table of Vestorius, who was remote from dialectics but trained enough in arithmetic. It is obvious that in the house of Vestorius, the banker, the conversation around the table was not to Cicero's liking.[53] Furthermore, Cicero spent a great deal of his leisure time reading and writing. His *De Republica* was written in his *Cumanum*, while *De Officiis* was composed in his house in Puteoli. Various estates in Cumae and its vicinity were the scenes for the talks in the *Academicae Quaestiones*, whereas his own houses served as the setting for *De Finibus* and *De Fato*.[54]

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[50] Mart., XI.80, I.62, cf. IV.42.7, 43.1–10; Sen., *Ep.*, LI.1, 13; Cic., *Cael.*, 27, 35, 47, 49. Some three decades later, Propertius encourages his sweetheart to leave corrupted Baiae and names the city *crimen amoris* (I.11.27, 30). An addiction to amusements in Baiae is also noticed by Plutarch (*Mar.*, 34), and by Josephus (*AJ*, XVIII.7.2), referring to the late republic and the principate respectively. The prosperity of Baiae as a fashionable resort continued, it appears, long after the end of the republic (Tac., *Ann.*, XIV.4, XV.52). For Baiae, see also Maiuri 1947, pp. 61–75; Beloch 1964, pp. 180–188; Guido 1972, pp. 30–32; Lomas 1993, pp. 95, 182. For the whole region as a preferable site to spend a vacation in, see Casson 1974, pp. 138–145.

[51] E.g. Cic., *Fin.*, V.8, 75, *Acad.*, II.12, *Fam.*, IX.26.1; Suet., *Gram.*, 8.

[52] Plut., *Brut.*, 21.3. For the *fabulae Atellanae*, see Cic., *Fam.*, IX.16.7.

[53] Cic., *Att.*, XIV.12, cf. *Att.*, IV.19, XIV.14. See Shackleton Bailey 1967, vol. 6, pp. 225, 229.

[54] Cic., *Att.*, II.4, 6, XV.13; *QFr.*, II.14.1; *Acad.*, I.1–2, II.9, 80; *Fin.*, I.14; *Fat.*, I.2. See D'Arms 1970, pp. 55–61; Lomas 1993, pp. 95, 182.

According to Diodorus, then, Heracles arrived at one of Italy's most bustling areas at the time of his writing. Besides the sites visited by the hero in the Phlegraean plain, Diodorus mentions Mount Vesuvius—including a short reference to its nature and a comparison with the Sicilian volcano Aetna (IV.21.5)[55]—as well as Misenum and Dicaearcheia, that is Puteoli (IV.22.1). It seems that Diodorus wished to produce a clear depiction of the region, as though he were writing a geographical introduction to his work. We may wonder whether one of the purposes of the mythological part was to draw a map of the inhabited world before turning to tell its history. It may be that by combining a geographical survey with the mythological tales, Diodorus thought to avoid criticism on grounds of his lacking geographer's skills, but I shall return to this question later.

I have discussed the Phlegraean plain as an example of a place which was known for a certain historical event but, at the same time, it is a good instance of Diodorus' custom to lead his heroes to sites which were celebrated for their special resources. As noted, the main attraction of the plain was supplied by its hot springs. Diodorus mentions two more places which offered hot baths. Making his way from Pelorias to Eryx, Heracles refreshed himself in the warm baths created for him by the nymphs. The baths were called Himera and Egesta (IV.23.1; cf. V.3.4). Himera, an old Greek colony, was utterly destroyed by the Carthaginians at the end of the fifth century BCE; however, as the new settlement which the conquerors founded nearby received the inhabitants of the old one and took the form of a Greek city, some confused it with Himera, calling it Himera instead of Thermae.[56] The inspiration for the name Thermae obviously lies in its hot springs.[57] Interestingly, Ptolemy's use of both names[58] is commemorated in the modern city, which is called Termini Imerese.

Unlike Himera, Egesta was not a Greek colony. Nevertheless, its inhabitants embraced some features of a Greek city, such as a Greek-style theatre, a Doric temple as well as the use of Greek letters, which are seen

[55] Cf. Strabo, V.4.8 C 247.

[56] Diod., XIII.79.8; Cic., *Verr.* 2, II.35.86; Sil., *Pun.*, XIV.232–235; Plin., *NH*, III.90; Vib. Sequest., 83. One might think that Diodorus contradicts himself; first he says that Himera was abandoned from the day it was ruined (XI.49.4), but later tells of its pacts and friendships with both Carthage and Dionysius of Syracuse (XIII.114.1, XIV.47.6, 56.2).

[57] Pind., *Ol.*, XII.19; Polyb., I.24.4; Diod., XIII.79.8.

[58] Θερμαὶ Ἱμέραι πόλις, *Geog.*, III.4.3.

on coins of a Greek type.[59] Egesta was the third site of warm baths which Heracles visited. I am not unaware of the fact that, according to the myths, Heracles was associated with hot waters;[60] however, the appearance of Baiae, Himera and Egesta in Diodorus' version of his voyage may well have its origins in the events of the author's time. I have already mentioned that the Romans recognized the healing qualities of the waters of Baiae and that their attraction to the site became greater in Diodorus' days. The efficacy of hot springs in general is attested to by various writers. Discussing different kinds of warm waters, Pliny details the advantages of each kind. He says that some are said to cure barrenness in women and insanity in men, others are good for the sinews or to heal paralysis. Pliny specifies the risks involved in the treatment process and makes a mention of the development of the healing methods from earlier times until his own days. He adds, however, that not all hot waters are medicinal and mentions Egesta among his examples. Nevertheless, the waters of Egesta have their advantage: Strabo says that whereas the waters of Himera were brackish, those of Egesta were potable, and Pliny himself maintains that there are hot waters which are good for drinking and as a purge.[61] One must not forget that hot baths were considered as a place to relax and to treat the bodies, not necessarily to heal wounds or to ease pains. Some compared the pleasure that those baths offered with the pleasure one gets from drinking wine or making love.[62]

Hot springs have also a religious significance. Vitruvius, for instance, claims that a temple should be built in a most healthy area with a spring nearby, especially when a god who has medical powers is concerned.[63] Thus the connection to Heracles, to religion and to medicine, as well as the frequent use of warm waters made by people of the first century BCE for either repose or healing, explains the appearance of hot springs in Heracles' voyage. It accords well with Diodorus' tendency to introduce

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[59] For the coins, see *B.M. Coins* 1963, e.g. pp. 134–137 nos. 36–64; Head 1963, pp. 164–167; Rutter 1997, pp. 138–139, 155, 161; Holloway 1991, p. 130. For the theatre, the temple and their remains, see Martens 1984, passim; Holloway 1991, pp. 119–120, 153–154; Guido 1972, pp. 69–72.

[60] Hence their epithet Ἡράκλεια λουτρά (*Suda*, s.v.; Hdt., VII.176; Ar., *Nub.*, 1050–1052; Strabo, IX.4.13 C 428).

[61] Plin., *NH*, XXXI.4, 59–61; Strabo, VI.2.9 C 275; cf. *It. Ant.*, 91.2. Indications of hot waters as a cure are often found in relation to the springs of the land of Israel and its vicinity. See, for example, Plin., *NH*, V.71–72, 74; Amm. Marc., XIV.8.12; Solin., 35.4; Eunap., *VS*, V.2.2 (459); Joseph., *BJ*, I.657, *Vit.*, 85–86 (16).

[62] *CIL*, VI.3, 15258.

[63] *De Arch.*, I.2.7.

into his journeys places which have a special feature or contemporary relevance. As far as the contemporary aspect was concerned, he could find some examples. Suffering from pain in his feet while in Athens, Sulla turned to the hot springs of Aedepsus. Plutarch's remark that at the same time he took a holiday and enjoyed himself illustrates the dual function of sites with warm waters. Another example is that of Augustus, to whom warm sulphur baths were suggested as a treatment for his sinews.[64]

Diodorus' habit of leading his heroes to places which became renowned on account of their special resources is further manifested in the voyage of Myrina. Diodorus says that the Amazon queen arrived at the land of the Atlantians. Although the ancient sources vary regarding their location, it is quite clear that the Atlantians dwelled in the western edge of Libya near the Atlas Mountain. In his description of the peoples living in Libya, Herodotus draws some sort of a line starting at the Egyptian Thebes and ending at the Pillars of Heracles. According to him, along this line and around mounds of salt at intervals of about ten days' journey dwell various peoples. The Atlantians are the last, living near the Atlas Mountain, from which they got their name. Herodotus, however, claims that there were tribes which dwelled beyond the Atlantians but admits that he did not know their names.[65] Pomponius Mela, in contrast, argues that the Atlantians were the most remote people of the west, but Pliny reveals uncertainty concerning their home place, saying that certain (*quidam*) writers maintain that they lived in the inland deserts of Africa.[66] Diodorus also discusses the Atlantians (III.54.1, 56.2, 59.8, 60.1), remarking that they dwelled in the regions on the coast of the ocean. Apparently, his version differs from that of Herodotus and corresponds with Mela's. Yet, since Herodotus confesses, on the one hand, that he did not know who were the people west of the Atlantians and places the Atlas in the Atlantians' vicinity, on the other, one may assume that Diodorus and Mela correct and complete his version, adding to it information unknown to their predecessor.

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[64] Plut., *Sull.*, 26; Suet., *Aug.*, 82. See, for instance, Jackson 1988, pp. 56, 162–163; Jackson 1990, pp. 1–13.

[65] Hdt., IV.181–185. Much the same details are found in Rhianus of Bene, ap. Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἄτλαντες (Powell, 1925, fr. 12). See Heidel 1976, p. 29 and n. 67. Herodotus further mentions various characteristics of the Atlantians, but later authors confused them with those ascribed by Herodotus to the Atarantes. See, for instance, Nic. Dam., *FGrH*, IIA, 90, F 103u; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, I.23, 43; Plin., *NH*, V.44–45. For an alternative explanation for this confusion, see Smith 1856, s.v. Atarantes, Atlantes.

[66] Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, I.23, 43; Plin., *NH*, V.44–45.

Myrina, therefore, travelled as far as the Atlas Mountain. Situated at the western frontier of Mauretania and touching the Atlantic Ocean, this mountain range forms the western edge of the *oikoumene*.[67] This may be a reason for the appearance of the Atlantians in the journey of Myrina; arriving in their country, the queen came to one of the edges of the earth and, as noted previously, Diodorus was accustomed to leading his heroes to sites which prove to be geographical landmarks. Yet inspecting the Atlas Mountain from other angles suggests that at the same time people of the Hellenistic era and beyond valued it for its resources.

In his depiction of the Atlas Mountain, Pliny states that it is covered with crags on the side facing the ocean, but is shaded, well-wooded and watered by gushing springs on the side facing Africa, where fruit of all kinds grow spontaneously and pleasure never lacks satisfaction. Elsewhere Pliny adds that Mauretania (whose territory includes the Atlas) was rich in *citrus* trees, which were used for making tables. He speaks in terms of men's table-mania (*mensarum insania*) which he compares with the pursuit of pearls by women. The trend, according to Pliny, was typical of the first century BCE, for he could not find any evidence of this kind of table prior to Cicero's time. Furthermore, Pliny devotes twelve clauses to this issue and repeats it on two other occasions that I will relate to later.[68] He was not the only writer who

[67] For the location of the mountain, see Strabo, XVII.3.2 C 825–826, 3.6 C 827; Ptol., *Geog.*, IV.1.1, 2, 4. Its propinquity to the ocean is also attested to by Plin., *NH*, V.6–7 and Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, III.101. Pliny argues that the ocean derives its name from the mountain. Diodorus, it is interesting to note, says that king Atlas, who received eternal honours after he had disappeared from the face of the earth, gave his name to both the mountain and its inhabitants (III.60.1, 3). One may find further proof for the Atlas Mountain as the "edge of the earth" in sources dealing solely with the myth. See Hesiod., *Theog.*, 518; Ovid., *Met.*, IV.632–633, cf. 628; Verg., *Aen.*, IV.481, cf. VI.796–797. Diodorus also refers to the story according to which Atlas supported upon his shoulders the entire heavens. A similar version is found in Hom., *Od.*, I.53–54; Aesch., *PV*, 350–352; 428–430; Hesiod., *Theog.*, 517–520; Apollod., *Bibl.*, I.8, II.120; Ovid., *Met.*, IV.627–662; Verg., *Aen.*, IV.427, 481–482, VI.796, VIII.136–141; Hyg., *Fab.*, 150; Paus., V.11.5, 18.4. But see a difference in Hdt., IV.184 and additional details in Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, III.101. Yet Diodorus provides a rational explanation: the origins of the tale lie in the perfection of the science of astrology by Atlas and in publishing the doctrine of the sphere by him (III.60.2, IV.27.5). For the "rationalization of mythology" by the ancient authors see, for example, Nestle 1966, pp. 131–152; Fornara 1983, pp. 4–12; Osmun 1956, pp. 131–137; Stern 1996, pp. 7–16; Rose 1940, pp. 78–84; Rusten 1982, pp. 21 esp. n. 8 and 10, 27 n. 29, 93–95.

[68] Plin., *NH*, V.6, 14–16, XIII.91–102. Polybius is one of the sources that Pliny used (Walbank 1979, vol. 3, pp. 630–638). Hence we may assume that some of the details also belong to the second century BCE.

dwelled on the subject. Many other authors, whose works, as will be seen below, are of a variety of genres, refer to the *citrus* tree and to its uses. Tracing these references reveals a similar picture. *Citrus* trees, which grow in various districts of Africa, also grew in other places. They were found, for example, in the Ptolemaic court and in Rome, and tables made of their wood became fashionable as they indicated the good taste and the wealth of their owners, at least until the end of the first century BCE.

The *citrus* tree (*citrus* in Latin, ϑύον in Greek)[69] is not a lemon tree which in Latin has the same name.[70] Theophrastus maintains that its look resembled that of a cypress and that its roots were the part favoured by carpenters. The uses of the tree were numerous and varied from time to time. From the *Odyssey* we learn that it functioned as a fragrance; according to Theophrastus it was the material of which roofs were made prior to his own days (that is before the Hellenistic period, since he was writing around 314 BCE); and Pliny, quoting the latter, adds that the flooring of old temples used to be made of *citrus*.[71] As for Diodorus' age, it seems that the demand for *citrus* trees grew and that uses for them increased. Already Theophrastus hints in that direction, saying that the very best things were made of *citrus* trees. We are told that the doors of Ptolemy Philopator's ship were created from *citrus*, while doors of the same wood were installed by Hieron II of Syracuse in the temple of Aphrodite; Masinissa, king of Numidia, sent *citrus* trees to Rhodes with a request to make statues out of them; Julius Caesar saw in the palace of Cleopatra round tables of which the upper part was made of wood brought from the Atlas forests, and their legs were of ivory.[72]

The passion for *citrus* trees was not only shared by the Romans but grew even stronger among them. Varro recalls a conversation in which one of the speakers denounces a costume to decorate houses with *citrus*

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[69] The Greek κίτριον (which is identical to the name of the lemon tree) was seldom used (e.g. Dio, LXI.10.3). See Liddell, Scott 1996, s.v. κίτριον, ϑύον, and also Lewis, Short 1951, s.v. *citrus*. The latter define the *Citrus* tree as an "African tree". In botany it is known as *callitris quadrivalvis*.

[70] Plin., *NH*, XIII.103.

[71] Hom., *Od.*, V.59–61, 264, IV.121; Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, V.3.7; Plin., *NH*, XIII.95, 100–101; cf. Petron., *Sat.*, 119.27–28. For the time of Theophrastus, who flourished after Alexander the Great, see Plin., *NH*, XIII.101.

[72] The source for each example is given in the order in which they appear in the text: Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, V.3.7; Athen., V.205b, 207e; *Suda*, s.v. ϑύον (cf. Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, V.3.7); Luc., X.144–146.

and gold which prevailed in his days in contrast with the simplicity of their forefathers; Horace mentions a statue that was placed under a roof made of *citrus*. Yet the main use of the *citrus* tree was in making tables. This, says Pliny, was due to its merits, and especially to its dimensions.[73] Caesar's amazement when he saw the tables in Egypt, tables the like of which he had never seen before, not even after defeating the Numidian king Juba,[74] may indicate the time in which the *mensarum insania* started.

The frequent references to these tables support the radical term employed by Pliny to describe the trend. Cicero condemns Verres for robbing a native Sicilian of his most beautiful *citrus* table; Strabo, who claims that the trees of Liguria are as good as the *citrus* as a raw material for tables, states that Mauretania supplied the Romans with very large tables that were made of one single piece of wood; the young Seneca recounts that he had seen tables made of wood which was valued as much as a senatorial *census*, while Seneca himself, as attested to by Dio, had a collection of five hundred *citrus* tables with an ivory leg on which he used to serve food to his guests; Lucan argues that, although Mauretania is rich in timber, it was not until the arrival of the Romans, who began to import tables "from the edge of the world", that the locals learned to benefit from their trees. Referring to the end of the republic and the beginning of the principate, Pliny mentions yet another use of the *citrus* made by the Romans, as a coating for trays, whereas Velleius Paterculus remarks that the emblems in Caesar's Gallic triumph were of *citrus*.[75]

The *citrus* was an expensive wood. Hence furniture that was made of it and its various uses for buildings were considered as luxuries. Most of the writers refer to the cost of the *citrus* and see it as a symbol of wealth.

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[73] Varro, *Rust.*, III.3–4; Hor., *Carm.*, IV.1.20; Plin., *NH*, XIII.96–97, 102, XVI.68.

[74] Luc., X.145–146.

[75] Cic., *Verr.* 2, IV.17.37; Strabo, IV.6.2 C 202, XVII.3.4 C 826; Sen., *Ben.*, VII.9.2; Dio, LXI.10.3 (cf. Sen., *Vit.*, XVII.2); Luc., IX.426–430; Plin., *NH*, XXXIII.146; Vell. Pat., II.56.2. The popularity of the *citrus* continued in the first century CE: Petronius describes tables of *citrus* uprooted in Africa, and his wording hints that the part of the tree most in demand and therefore most expensive was the root (*Sat.*, 119.27–31); Martial tells of the current fashion in designing tables—round planes of Libyan wood on top of Indian ivory legs—which were exhibited in the stores of the *saepta*, but mentions also writing-tablets of *citrus* (II.43.9, IX.59.7–10, X.80, XIV.3, cf. XIV.90); Statius was present in a banquet of Domitian, an occasion in which the guests sat at *citrus* and ivory tables. Elsewhere the author marvels at *citrus* lintels of a villa (*Silv.*, IV.2.38–39, I.3.35). See also Juv., XI.122–129 and Apul., *Met.*, V.1 for the second century CE. Interestingly, in the *Digesta* (XIX.1.21.2) *citrus* tables are brought up as an example in a discussion of deception in sales.

Some compared it to gold, others valued it as money. Varro, for instance, regards *citrus* and gold as two things which contradict the simplicity of the past, while Petronius claims that gold was cheaper than *citrus* tables and Martial, in an epigram titled *Mensa Citrea* which is interesting in itself, urges accepting *Atlantica munera* since, as he writes, a person who shall give golden gifts will give smaller gifts.[76] Seneca, as previously noted, speaks of tables estimated at a million *sestertii* each, a sum equal to the senatorial *census* in his days. Pliny admits that there were tables which cost even more and records a story, according to which in his own time there was still in existence a table that had belonged to Cicero, for which the latter had paid half-a-million *sestertii* though he was not a man of great wealth, and one owned by Asinius Gallus, the consul of 8 BCE, that cost twice as much.[77]

The extravagant image attached to the *citrus* is further emphasized by Pliny. He is not only referring to the practice of painting furniture made of cheap wood in order to make it look as though it were made of *citrus*, or rather to coat it with pieces of *citrus*, but names this wood as one of the few means which refines life.[78] Indeed, Cato Maior had already denounced houses that were built and decorated with *citrus* and ivory,[79] but the pursuit of items made of *citrus* increased in the first century BCE. This fact accords well with the notion, expressed by Sallust who wrote approximately in the same years as Diodorus, that greed (*avaritia*) and hunger for luxury (*luxuria*), together with other factors, prevailed among the Romans and ultimately led the republic to its end.[80] To return to the beginning of the discussion: it may be that Diodorus was inspired by the events of his days to include the Atlantians, the inhabitants of the Atlas Mountain in Mauretania, in the journey of Myrina. It was the Atlas forests which supplied the Romans with most of the *citrus* trees that they needed, since the forests of the area of Cyrene and the oracle of Ammon had dwindled.[81]

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[76] Varro, *Rust.*, III.2.4; Petron., *Sat.*, 119.29; Mart., XIV.89.

[77] Sen., *Ben.*, VII.9.2; Plin., *NH*, XIII.92.

[78] *NH*, XVI.231–233, XIII.100, cf. V.12. For the tree and its uses, see Meiggs 1982, pp. 286–292; Richter 1966, pp. 122, 125–126.

[79] Cited by Fest., *De Verb. Sig.*, 315 (243). See Lindsay 1913, p. 282.

[80] Sall., *Cat.*, 10–11, *Iug.*, 41.

[81] Luc., IX.426–427; Plin., *NH*, XIII.91, 95; Strabo, XVII.3.4 C 826; cf. Mart., XIV.89, 90; Stat., *Silv.*, I.3.35. For Cyrene and the oracle of Ammon, see Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, V.3.7; Plin., *NH*, XIII.102.

Yet the Atlas Mountain range, as noted, marks the western extremity of the *oikoumene*. Thus it might also be a good example of another type of site which appears in the journeys of Diodorus' heroes, namely geographical landmarks.[82] In fact, Diodorus mentions all the edges of the earth in the six tales discussed here. Myrina came to the Atlas Mountain (III.54.1) and Heracles went further westwards, arriving at the Pillars of Heracles and crossing to Gadeira (IV.18.2); Osiris, Sesostris, Semiramis and Dionysus visited India, the eastern limit of the known world (I.19.6, 55.2, II.18.2); Sesostris travelled as far as Scythia, Lake Maeotis and the River Tanais in the North (I.55.4); he also invaded Ethiopia, the southern frontier, as did Osiris and Semiramis (I.18.3, 55.1, II.14.4).

The same boundaries are given by Pliny in his detailed account of the dimensions of the inhabited world. Before he indicates the longest breadth from East to West, Pliny makes clear that this dimension is measured *ab India ad Herculi columnas Gadibus*, while the measurements of the earth from the southern to the northern point is given *ab litore Aethiopici oceani … ostium Tanais*.[83] Nonetheless, Pliny is not the only authority to validate the assumption that Diodorus intentionally leads his various heroes to all four edges of the earth and that he used the accepted signs to mark them. Strabo says that Eratosthenes, establishing a map of the inhabited world (τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης πίνακα), divided it into two parts by a line drawn from West to East. The ends of this line are the Pillars of Heracles and the mountain chain that forms the northern frontier of India. The Ethiopian Meroe is mentioned as a southern landmark whereas the Scythians denote the north.[84] An examination of references

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[82] The Atlas Mountain is also a landmark within Africa itself, as it is prominent in the topography of the land (Plin., *NH*, V.5–6). Polybius, who sailed round the coast of Africa, referred to the Atlas in his lost geographical book, saying that beyond it, in a westerly direction, there were forests infested with wild animals; he mentions it again to describe the location of Cerne (Plin., *NH*, V.9, VI.199). For the significance of the Atlas in this respect, see also Plin., *NH*, V.11, 14; cf. Dio, LX.9. The Atlas range became later *limes* of the Roman Empire; this, too, indicates its importance. See, for example, Fentress 1979 p. 116; Cherry 1998, pp. 49–53. For the term *limes*, see Isaac 1998, pp. 345–387. Modern scholars and travellers also took interest in the Atlas Mountain. Though Thomas Shaw diminishes its glory (Shaw 1972, pp. 7–8, 67, 88), recent geographers state that two of the most noticeable features of Mediterranean Africa are the Nile valley in the East and the Atlas in the West (e.g. Barbour 1962, pp. 77–79; Abun-Nasr 1975, pp. 3–6; Girgis 1987, pp. 21–24; Cherry 1998, pp. 4–5).

[83] *NH*, II.242–246. Pliny admits, though, that the Sarmatae dwell northwards of the Tanais and mentions also Thule, but says that not much is known about them and thus regards them as part of the "uninhabitable region".

[84] Strabo, II.1.1–3 C 67–68.

to each of the above landmarks offers additional support. The Ethiopians are regarded by Homer as ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, the furthermost of men, while the oases and borders of Ethiopia are regarded by Strabo as part of the unknown world.[85] None could tell the exact location of Scythia. It was already Herodotus who made an attempt to draw the northern border of the land but he ultimately admits that the country lying north of the Scythians is a mystery to him.[86] India, in Curtius Rufus' version of a speech of Parmenion, marks (with Bactria) the eastern end of Asia, while the River Ganges is, according to Juvenal, the eastern end of the world.[87]

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[85] Hom., *Od.*, I.23; Strabo, XVII.3.23 C 839; see also XVII.1.13 C 798. The boast of C. Cornelius Gallus, the first *praefectus Aegypti*, who claimed that during his voyage to Ethiopia he had reached places which neither the Egyptians nor the Romans reached (29 BCE), is further proof of the significance of Ethiopia as a limit of the known world (*ILS*, 8995; cf. Dio, LIII.23–24; Strabo, XVII.1.53 C 819).

[86] Hdt., IV.23–25. For the confusion regarding the boundaries of Scythia, see also his descriptions in I.15, 103–106, II.103, IV.1, 16–22, 46–47, VII.64 and compare with Diod., I.41.7, II.35.1, 37.6, 43.1–2, III.34.7, 55.10 and Strabo, VII.3.7 C 300, 3.13 C 305, 4.5 C 311, 5.12 C 318, XI.2.1 C 493, 2.5 C 494, 6.2 C 507. See, in addition, the remarks of Pliny who points out the nomadic nature of the Scythian tribes and their great variety (*NH*, VI.51), which make one wonder whether these characteristics further increased the uncertainty. Pliny emphasizes the inconsistency of the authors, saying that it was particularly evident with regard to the Scythians than concerning any other part of the world (*NH*, VI.51). Strabo adds that the Greek historians use the name "Scythians" in general for all the tribes facing the north even though they had separate names (XI.6.2 C 507, cf. XI.8.2 C 511; Plin., *NH*, IV.80). See also Curt., IV.6.3, VI.2.13–14, VII.3.19, 6.2–3, VIII.2.14. It is interesting to look into some of the references to Scythia made by poets of the first century BCE which, in my opinion, strengthen Diodorus' use of it as an edge of the earth. In their attempt to demonstrate Augustus' achievements over the world both Horace and Virgil mention the Scythians and/or the inhabitants surrounding Lake Maeotis and River Tanais (Hor., *Carm. Saec.*, 55–56, *Carm.*, IV.14.41–44, 15.22–24, cf. III.29.27–28; Verg., *Aen.*, VI.798–799), as does Augustus himself (*Mon. Anc.*, 31), while according to Propertius a woman who missed her husband, a Roman soldier stationed in the East, wrote in a letter to him that she would not be detained not even by the heights of Scythia (IV.3.47). For Scythia see, in general, Grant 1986, s.v.; Hornblower, Spawforth 1996, s.v.; Cary 1949, pp. 305–313; Minns 1971, esp. pp. 1–34; Hartog 1988, esp. pp. 3–33; Marčenko, Vinogradov 1989, pp. 803–813; Rolle 1989, pp. 11–18. See also Ustinova 1999, passim.

[87] Curt., IV.11.13; Juv., X.1. As in the case of Scythia, India is used as means to eulogize Augustus' achievements (e.g. he was the first Roman general who received frequent Indian envoys in his camp): *Mon. Anc.*, 31; Strabo, XVI.1.4 C 686, 73 C 719; Suet., *Aug.*, 21; Florus, II.34.62; Eutrop., VII.10; Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 1.7; Hieron., *Chron.*, Ol. 188; Oros., VI.21.19. Again, this has its echoes in the contemporary poetry: Hor., *Carm. Saec.*, 55–56, cf. *Carm.*, I.12.55–56; Verg., *G.*, II.172; *Aen.*, VI.794–795, VIII.705; Prop., II.10.15–16, cf. IV.3.10. See also above, Part I Chapter 1, pp. 32–33. For Diodorus' interest in India, see Sulimani 2005, pp. 58–61.

Yet the case of the Pillars of Heracles is particularly striking.[88] Strabo records a story according to which the Tyrians, who were sent to search out the region about the Pillars for the sake of founding a colony, thought that the two capes were the ends of the inhabited world (τέρμονας εἶναι τῆς οἰκουμένης). Strabo then remarks that it is reasonable to look for the limits of the inhabited world as marked by pillars, since it was a custom in early times to set up landmarks of this sort. Philostratus, as we shall see, reflects on the idea that Heracles indicated the limit of the world at Gadeira, but he also adds that the hero used the mountains for pillars, a clear indication that both Gadeira and the Pillars of Heracles were regarded as an edge of the earth.[89] This position of the Pillars is further reinforced by the interesting context in which Herodotus and Pindar mention them. Herodotus admits that he does not know the names of the peoples that dwell beyond the Atlantes and the Pillars of Heracles. Elsewhere he says that the Greeks were afraid to sail further than Delos because they had no knowledge of the region which lay beyond this island. They supposed that Samos was as far from them as the Pillars of Heracles. Thus we learn that the Pillars were, in addition to a physical sign of the edge of the earth, an expression of the limit of knowledge, of a frontier beyond which lay "the unknown".[90] Pindar's metaphorical use of

[88] The term "Pillars of Heracles", Στῆλαι Ἡρακλήιαι/*Herculeae Columnae* (for the many variations of the name, see Smith 1856, s.v. Gaditanum fretum; Herculis Columnae), refers to two cliffs: Calpe (Gibraltar) in the Iberian peninsula and Abila (Jebel Musa) in Mauretania. The straits between these cliffs join together the waters of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean. See Strabo, III.1.7 C 139–140, 5.5 C 169–170; Plin., *NH*, III.3–4; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, I.27, II.95; Philostr., *VA*, V.1; Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 86–88, 341–349; Scylax, 111; Eust., 64 (Müller 1965, vols. 1, 2). For a description of the site see, for example, Walsh 1972, pp. 3–12; Bradford 1971, pp. 11–17; Dennis 1977, pp. 12–30; Admiralty Charts and Publications (of the British Navy) 1992, pp. 214–242. For the history and significance of the Pillars see, among others, Garratt 1939, passim; Bradford 1971, passim; Hills 1974, passim; Dennis 1977, pp. 31–101; Jackson 1987, passim; Morris, Haigh 1992, passim; Roller 2006, passim. For the passage of vessels and merchandise through the straits, see Truver 1980, pp. 39–94 and passim; Dennis 1977, pp. 120–125. For the role of the Pillars through the ages consult also the speech of the Spanish minister of foreign affairs in negotiating with the British regarding the Gibraltar: *The Spanish Proposals on Gibraltar* 1966 and also Admiralty Charts and Publications (of the British Navy) 1992, p. 10 and maps pp. xv–xvi.

[89] Strabo, III.5.5 C 169–171; Philostr., *VA*, II.33. Similar references are made by Scylax, 1; Scymn., 142–146; Dionys. Per., 64; Eust., 64 (Müller 1965, vols. 1, 2).

[90] Hdt., IV.185, VIII.132; see also II.33 and IV.196: Herodotus employs the phrase ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων (beyond the Pillars of Heracles) in his description of the westernmost peoples of Europe. This phrase reappears as an indication of distant and unknown regions as, for example, in reference to the Punic activity in the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean (Hanno, 1 [Müller 1965, vol. 1]; Ps. Arist., *Mir. Aus.*, 136).

the Pillars strengthens the above findings, adding to them, at the same time, further meaning. In his epinician verses, the poet compares the athletes' victories with an actual arrival in the Pillars of Heracles: reaching an edge (πρὸς ἐσχατιάν) by his excellent achievements, the champion of a chariot-race also grasps a Pillar of Heracles. Similar words are said in praise of a victor of a wrestling-boxing contest, while the task of another winner of the same sort of competition is compared to a journey beyond the Pillars of Heracles. On this last occasion Pindar notes that Heracles set up the pillars as witnesses of the uttermost limit of a voyage.[91] It follows that, besides being considered as a physical border of the world and as a limit of knowledge, the Pillars of Heracles were a symbol of a culmination reached by a human being.

However, it is not only the Pillars of Heracles which signal the western limit of the earth, but also Gadeira (Roman Gades and modern Cadiz).[92] According to Diodorus, Heracles had arrived at the Pillars and then crossed the straits to Gadeira. Elsewhere the author states specifically that the city was situated at the extremities of the inhabited world (εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς οἰκουμένης), a statement which gains Pliny's support in a passage previously cited.[93] In fact, words such as ἔσχατος (extremity) and τέρμα (an end) are common in the ancients' definitions of the location of Gadeira. In Starbo, for instance, we find *ἐσχάτη* ... τῆς γῆς, while Philostratus uses τέρμα to say that Gadeira lies at the end of Europe, but elsewhere he regards the city as a boundary of the world. He discusses

[91] Pind., *Ol.*, III.43–44, *Isth.*, IV.12, *Nem.*, III.21–22.

[92] It is said that the ancient city was situated on an island near the Atlantic coast of Baetica and close to the Pillars of Heracles. The sources vary as to the identity of this island. The vagueness is due partly to the topography of the region: three small adjacent isles which are separated from the mainland by a narrow strait. Time and men changed this structure. Nowadays these islands are connected to each other and are part of the mainland. Gadeira is sometimes referred to as the isle itself but mostly as a city that was founded on it. It is only Diodorus (V.20.2) who argues that Gadeira lies in a peninsula. In my opinion, he may be reflecting the topographical transformations. See Strabo, III.5.3–4 C 168–169, II.5.30 C 129, III.1.8 C 140, 2.11 C 148; Plin., *NH*, IV.119–120, III.7; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, II.97, III.46; Ptol., *Geog.*, II.4.16, VIII.4.5; Paus., X.4.6; Steph. Byz., s.v. Γάδειρα; cf. Hdt., IV.8; *Suda*, s.v. Γάδειρα. The confusion regarding the location of Gadeira can be seen also in Pl., *Crit.*, 114b; Vell. Pat., I.2.3; Scylax, 1, 111; Dionys. Per., 450–456; Eust., 64, 451 (the last three according to Müller 1965, vols. 1, 2). For the beginnings of Gadeira, its importance and other aspects, see Sutherland 1939, esp. pp. 8–10, 102, 117, 141; Fear, 1996, pp. 39–42, 170–226, 228, 232–237, 248, 268; Harrison 1988, pp. 35, 41, 80–83, 95–98, 106; Richardson 1996, esp. pp. 103–126; Keay 1988, pp. 147–149, 105–106, 211; Curchin 1990, pp. 89, 120, 160; Arribas n.d., pp. 47–48, 52, 99, 129, 131; Carpenter 1958, pp. 49–53.

[93] Diod., XXV.10.1; Plin., *NH*, II.242.

the representation of Heracles as the one *who marked the boundary* of the earth at Gadeira, employing both the participle *ὁρίζων* and the phrasing *ὁριστὴν* γενέσθαι τῆς γῆς. Silius Italicus regards Calpe and Gades as the *limit* of the human world, *hominum finem*. Yet the position of Gadeira as an end is apparent even without the use of such words. Juvenal speaks of all the lands that exist *a Gadibus usque Auroram et Gangem*, that is from Gades all the way to the Dawn and the Ganges.[94]

If not as the edge of the world, Gadeira is often regarded as a sign of an edge, be that of Baetica, Spain, Europe, the ocean or the Roman Empire. Pliny indicates the length of Baetica from Castulo to Gades; in addition, Gades signifies the West in his description of a circumnavigation of the earth. Both Dionysius Periegetes and Eustathius, the author and the commentator, describe the site of Gadeira as being at the ends of the ocean (ἐπι τέρμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο/ὠκεανοῦ). Augustus used the city to denote the limits of his empire, declaring that he had pacified the provinces bounded by the ocean *a Gadibus ad ostium Albis fluminis*.[95] Yet Gadeira was more than a geographical landmark. Being a trade as well as a religious centre, this city may illustrate that Diodorus was inclined to add in the journeys of his heroes two other types of site.

To commence with religious centres, Diodorus states that the Phoenicians of Tyre, who had founded Gadeira, built in the city a costly temple to Heracles and instituted impressive sacrifices after the Phoenician ritual. Diodorus names Heracles, but Melkart, whom the Greeks identified with Heracles, is meant. Arrian makes the distinction, maintaining that it

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94 Strabo, III.1.8 C 140; Philostr., *VA*, II.33, V.4; Juv., X.1; Sil., *Pun.*, I.141, III.3–4. Strabo, however, contradicts himself. Discussing the phrase "gates of Gadeira" used by Pindar, he claims that Gadeira is not situated in such a place which denotes an end (ἐσχατιάν) but rather, lies in a bay at the centre of a long coastline (III.5.6 C 172). The passage to which Strabo refers was not found in the extant writings of Pindar, yet stating that one must not pass Gadeira towards the west, the poet does hint at Gadeira as being an edge (*Nem.*, IV.69).

95 Plin., *NH*, II.167–168, III.17; Dionys. Per., 452; Eust., 451 (the quotations are given according to Müller 1965, vol. 2); *Mon. Anc.*, 26. Cf. Liv., XXXVI.17.15: the consul in charge of the war against Antiochus III, addressing his soldiers, asks what would be lacking that the Romans should not set bounds to their empire by the ocean *ab Gadibus ad mare rubrum*. See also Liv., XXVII.20.4: Gades is mentioned to mark the farthest boundary of Spain (*ultimam Hispaniae oram*); Hor., *Carm.*, II.2.10–11: the adjective *remotus* is attached to the town's name; Ptol., *Geog.*, II.4.16: Gadeira is a *polis* situated on an island ἐν τῇ ἐκτὸς θαλάσσῃ, that is outside the sea. In his details for drawing the map of Europe, Ptolemy points out Gadeira as a place in which the day is the longest (VIII.4.5). One may also notice the geographical significance of Gadeira in the myths. Except for Heracles, the Argonauts made their way to the city in order to return to the Mediterranean since Aeetes blockaded the mouth of the Black Sea (Diod., IV.56.3–6).

is the Tyrian Heracles whom the Iberians worshipped. He finds support in a Phoenician-style temple which had been built in his honour near the Pillars of Heracles and in the sacrifices offered in the Phoenician tradition. According to Arrian, however, the exact location of the temple is Tartessus, a neighbouring city of Gadeira. Strabo, like Diodorus, writes Gadeira. He argues that the temple of Heracles is situated in the eastern part of the island most closely to the mainland.[96]

The unbroken existence of the temple, the visits of famous men and the explicit words of authors concerning its prestige prove the importance of Gadeira as a religious centre. Cassius Dio and Avienus attest to the survival of the ceremonies as late as the third, fourth and fifth centuries CE. Dio recounts that the governor of Baetica of 215 CE was executed for consulting the oracle of Heracles in Gadeira. According to Avienus, in his own days nothing was left of Gadeira's former splendour except the yearly rites of Heracles. Both authors' phrasings bring to light new information regarding the function of the temple. While Dio's use of the participle χρησάμενον indicates that there was an oracle in the city, Avienus' choice of words, namely *praeter Herculanea[m] solemnitatem*, suggests an annual rite.[97]

In the list of the men who called at the sacred precinct of Heracles in Gadeira, named *Herakleion* among the Greeks, one may find Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, the Roman general who, having been sent to Spain in 145 BCE, had come to Gadeira and made a sacrifice to Heracles before waging war.[98] Yet most appealing are the visits of Hannibal and Julius Caesar. On the eve of his voyage to Italy, Hannibal reached Gadeira, intending to renew his vows to the god.[99] Caesar paid the temple a visit while he was *quaestor* in *Hispania Ulterior*. Suetonius maintains that, beholding the statue of Alexander the Great, Caesar lamented that at

[96] Diod., V.20.2; Arr., II.16.1–4, cf. Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 85, 268–270: the city of Gadir (i.e. the Punic name of Gadeira) had been formerly called Tartessus, and Philostr., *VA*, V.4: the inhabitants of Gadeira who were devoted to religion set up many altars in their city among which were one to the Egyptian Heracles and others to the Theban Heracles; Strabo, III.5.3 C 169.

[97] Dio, LXXVIII.20.4; Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 267–283. For the cult of Heracles in Gadeira, see also Paus., X.4.6 and Philostr., *VA*, IV.47, V.4.

[98] According to Appian (*Hisp.*, 65), Aemilianus (the son of Aemilius Paullus who defeated Perseus of Macedon) went to Gadeira while waiting for his forces, some of which enlisted from among the allies, to be well trained. For the title, *Herakleion*, see e.g. Strabo, III.5.7 C 172.

[99] Liv., XXI.21.9, and see Rawlings 2005, pp. 153–184 for the association of Hannibal with Heracles.

his age he had done nothing noteworthy while Alexander at the same point in his life had already brought the world under his sway. Thus he had been driven to ask for his discharge in order to take upon himself greater enterprises at Rome. In the Civil Wars, however, having defeated his opponents in Munda, Caesar imposed such taxes on the inhabitants of hostile towns that he did not omit even the offerings to Heracles in Gadeira.[100]

The expressions of authors such as Diodorus and Pomponius Mela further underline the respected position of the shrine. Diodorus argues that this temple had been extraordinarily honoured both in the past and later down to his own days. He adds that many distinguished Romans who had accomplished great deeds offered vows to Heracles, vows which they performed after they had gained success. Diodorus plainly alludes to Caesar: after his victory in Ilerda, Caesar went as far as Gadeira, conferring Roman citizenship on the city. Indeed, according to Dio, this was Caesar's way of showing his gratitude towards the city in which he first felt that he was destined for glory; yet I wonder whether conferring this benefaction upon the people of Gadeira was primarily the manner in which Caesar performed his vows to Heracles.[101] The words of Pomponius Mela are as firm as those of Diodorus: the temple was celebrated for its founders, its cult, its ancientness as well as for its wealth.[102]

Interestingly, the attraction of the temple of Heracles was not merely religious. Seleucus, an astronomer of the second century BCE who was born in Seleucia on the Tigris and became renowned for his studies of the tides, did some research in the *Herakleion* of Gadeira. These studies are mentioned by Philostratus, who also refers to an investigation into sunsets and dawns which had been carried out in Gadeira.[103] Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a navigator and adventurer, made his way to Gadeira on behalf of Cleopatra, wife and heir of Ptolemy Euergetes II.[104]

To return to religion, another conspicuous example of a religious centre in the journeys of Diodorus' heroes is the oracle of Ammon. Diodorus says that Semiramis visited all of Egypt and, having subjugated most of Libya, set off for the oracle of Ammon to inquire of the god with regard to her own end (II.14.3). According to Scytobrachion's version,

[100] Suet., *Iul.*, 7.1, Dio, XXXVII.52.2, XLIII.39.4–5.
[101] Diod., V.20.2; Dio, XLI.24.1. See also Liv., *Per.*, 110 and compare Caes., *BCiv.*, II.18.
[102] Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, III.46.
[103] Strabo, III.5.9 C 174–175; Philostr., *VA*, V.2–3.
[104] Strabo, II.3.4 C 99; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, III.90; cf. Plin., *NH*, II.169.

after Dionysus had arrived at an unknown Libyan city named Zabirna, he reached the city of the Ammonians and, having established the oracle of Ammon, consulted the god concerning his expedition (III.72.5–73.3).

The temple of Ammon and the Oasis of Siwah in which it was situated are described by Diodorus at length in his discussion of Alexander's visit in the place. He refers to the location of the oasis (surrounded by a waterless sandy desert), the features of the land (many springs, all sorts of trees and fruit), the climate (a mild temperature), the peoples dwelling in the region (Ethiopians, Libyans and Nasamonians), and depicts the temple itself and the manner in which the oracle gave his responses.[105] Alexander's visit to the shrine and Diodorus' emphasis on the story points to the eminence of the temple and its oracle throughout the Hellenistic age and particularly in Diodorus' own time. Additional information is found in Strato's statement, cited by Strabo, according to which the temple of Ammon was once situated by the sea and that is why the oracle became distinguished and well-known (τὸ μαντεῖον ... γενέσθαι ἐπιφανές τε καὶ γνώριμον), whereas its present position, far from the sea, offers no reasonable explanation of its present renown and fame (ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν). Yet elsewhere, speaking of a general neglect of oracles which prevailed in his own days due to the Romans' satisfaction with their Sibyllan prophecies and the observation of signs made by their *augures* or *auspices*, Strabo refers specifically to the decadence of the oracle of Ammon which, according to him, had been almost abandoned. The geographer, nonetheless, relates to the respect formerly paid to the oracle, using the visit of Alexander as proof.[106]

An alternative way of learning about the esteem in which the oracle of Ammon was held in the Hellenistic era is to examine the list of those who consulted it. This list, albeit short, includes several distinguished figures. Among these Alexander is obviously the most famous.[107] In reply to his questions, the prophet, hailing the king as the son of Ammon, informed him that he would rule the whole world, that those who murdered his father had suffered punishment and that he would be invincible until he

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[105] Diod., XVII.50.1–7. For comparison and additional details, see Strabo, I.3.4 C 49, 3.4 C 50, XVII.1.14 C 799, 1.35 C 809, 1.42–43 C 813–814, 3.11 C 830; Curt., IV.7.18–21; Luc., IX.511–543; Arr., III.4.1–4. I have already discussed the oracle of Ammon in connection with Semiramis' journey: Sulimani 2005, pp. 53–55.

[106] Strabo, I. 3.4 C 50, XVII.1.43 C 813–814. Strato of Lampsacus became head of the Peripatetic school in 287 BCE.

[107] For the Greek interest in the oracle of Ammon before Alexander, see Bates 1914, pp. 189–200; Woodward 1962, pp. 5–13.

joined the gods. After Alexander had offered sacrifices to the gods and gifts to the priests, his friends, being allowed to consult the god, asked for permission to bestow divine honours upon their king and were told that this would be acceptable. It seems that the additional remark of Justin—that Alexander, in his desire to attach to himself divine origins and to clear his mother's name, sent men ahead to bribe the priests of Ammon to give the responses that he wanted—strengthens the assumption that the oracle was highly regarded at the time.[108] If the word of this oracle did not matter, then why would Alexander take the trouble to secure his answers?

Other names on the list are those of the Rhodians who in 304 BCE, wishing to reward Ptolemy for his help during the siege of Demetrius Poliorcetes, sent a delegation into Libya to ask the oracle whether it would advise them to honour the king as a god. The son of Lagus himself dedicated an altar to Ammon in the temple. Pausanias saw this altar and noticed also a hymn by Pindar carved onto a tablet on the side of it.[109] Hannibal was informed by the oracle of Ammon that he would be buried in Libyan soil. He therefore hoped to defeat the Romans and to return to his homeland and there to die of old age.[110] Cato the Younger reached the oracle on his way to Numidia after the defeat of Pompey in Pharsalus. As he approached the doors of the temple, envoys from the East, seeking to discover what the future had in store for them, gave him place. Cato's companions pleaded with him to test the deity who was famous throughout Libya and to pass judgment on his fame of so very long period of time (*de fama tam longi … aevi*), but he declined their suggestion.[111]

The last example is perhaps the best proof of the eminence of the oracle of Ammon in Diodorus' days. The voyage of Cato occurred in 48–47 BCE and it is quite probable that Lucan's *Pharsalia*, though of a later period, reflects, at least to some degree, the *Zeitgeist* of the incidents themselves. At the same time, the fact that Lucan lived between 39 and 65 CE makes one wonder whether the interest in the oracle had ceased altogether, as implied by Strabo. In a rather long passage in his eleventh

[108] Diod., XVII.51.1–4; Curt., IV.7.25–28; Iust., XI.11.1–12; Plut., *Alex.*, 27.3–4; Arr., III.4.5; cf. Ps. Callisthenes, I.30–35. Interestingly, Plutarch speaks of monetary gifts that Alexander gave the priests after he had received the oracle's response.

[109] Diod., XX.100.3–4; Paus., IX.16.1.

[110] Diod., XXV.19; Tzetz., *Chil.*, I.801–802; Plut., *Flam.*, 20; Paus., VIII.11.11.

[111] Luc., IX.544–586.

book, the poet notes the arrival of Cato in the temple (511), describes the site and discusses its importance (512–543), underlines the appeal of Cato's companions (546–549) and details a conversation between Cato and Labienus, one of those who urged Cato to seek the oracle's advice (550–584). The structure of this excerpt supports the idea that both in the middle of the first century BCE and in the days of Lucan the oracle was still held in some regard. Otherwise, why would the poet devote so many verses of his epic to Cato's visit in the site? This conjecture is further strengthened by the contents of these verses. For example, Lucan mentions envoys that had travelled all the way from the East to consult the oracle. Since they allowed Cato to enter the temple before they did, this implies that there was a queue of people who were waiting for their turn to seek Ammon's advice. Moreover, Labienus implored Cato to ask the oracle about the fate of Caesar and to enquire what the future held for Rome. But Cato refused. It was not because he despised the oracle, but because he believed that the gods inform every man at birth what he should know. Finally, one may recall the closing remark of the scene: speaking this way, Cato departed from the altar and the honour of the temple was preserved, *servataque fide templi* (584–586).

The decision of Cato and his companions to visit the temple of Ammon in the first place seems rather strange. Making their way to Numidia, they failed to cross the Syrtis Bay by sea. Hence they resolved to go around by land. The journey through the desert was arduous, which makes it hard to understand their decision to lengthen it even further, by visiting the oracle which lies south-east of their destination.[112] Thus, although the oracle was situated in an oasis, it was not necessary to pass through it. To conclude, despite Strabo's assessment that the oracle of Ammon had lost its importance in his own days, Lucan's emphasis on it and the visits of explorers and authors—such as Cleombrotus of Sparta in the first century CE and of Pausanian in the Second—prove that the oracle had preserved some of his attraction.[113]

The oracle of Ammon and the temple of Heracles in Gadeira are two examples which demonstrate the introduction of sites which were religious centres into the voyages. One may add Samothrace (to which Myrina came, III.55.8) to the list, Eryx and Croton (visited by Heracles, IV.23.1–2), and Nysium (possibly the oracle of Dionysus on the

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112 Luc., IX.444–510; cf. Plut., *Cat. Min.*, 56; Dio., XLII.13.4–5.

113 Plut., *De def. Or.*, 410a–b; Paus., IX.16.1. For the oracle, see Parke 1967, pp. 194–252; Fakhry 1990, pp. 86–89. For the site, see Heeren 1969, vol. 1, pp. 203–213.

Pangaeum Mountain in Thrace which appears in the route of the god himself, III.65.5).[114] Gadeira, as noted previously, is also a good instance of a trade centre that may be found in Diodorus' descriptions.

Founded by the Phoenicians of Tyre,[115] Gadeira flourished as a trading-place. Already Herodotus refers to Tartessus, a neighbouring city that, as already noted, was sometimes confused with Gadeira, as a bustling market. Strabo, on the other hand, states plainly that Gadeira and Corduba were the greatest of the trading-places, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν

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[114] The island of Samothrace was celebrated both for its rite of mysteries and for its sanctuary (see e.g. Hdt., II.51; Diod., III.55.9, V.48.4–5, 64.4, 77.3; Strabo, X.3.7 C 466, 3.19 C 472, 3.21 C 472). Distinguished men, both Greeks and Romans, attended the mysteries throughout the Hellenistic period and beyond. Among those who visited the island one may find Philip II (Plut., *Alex.*, 2.1; Curt., VIII.1.26), Piso, the Roman governor of Macedonia (Cic., *Pis.*, XXXVI.89) and Varro (*Ling.*, V.10.58). The renown of Eryx, a name of a mountain as well as the city nearby, was due to the temple of Aphrodite on the mountain's peak. The shrine and the goddess were honoured by various peoples both in Sicily (Diod., IV.83.4; Thuc., VI.46.3) and overseas: Greeks (Paus., VIII.24.6) Carthaginians (Diod., IV.83.4; cf. Val. Max., II.6.15; Solin., 27.8) and Romans. The Romans, identifying their goddess Venus with Aphrodite, held the temple in Eryx in high regard. During the Hannibalic war they embraced the cult of Aphrodite of Eryx, calling their goddess *Venus Erycina* (Hor., *Carm.*, I.2.33; Ovid., *Her.*, XV.57) and building a shrine to her in the Capitol (Diod., IV.83.5; Liv., XXII.9.10, 10.10, XXIII.30.13; Strabo, VI.2.6 C 272). The significance of the temple of Eryx is further shown by the visits and offerings of the Roman magistrates who came to the province of Sicily and by a decree of the senate, compelling the cities of Sicily to pay a tax in gold to Aphrodite and instructing that soldiers shall guard her temple (Diod., IV.83.6–7; Cic., *Verr.*, 2, II.8.21–22). The cult of Aphrodite/Venus was widespread, perhaps at its peak, during the time of Diodorus (Diod., IV.83.6; Ael., *VH*, I.15, *NA*, IV.2; Athen., IX.394f–395a). The city of Croton in Southern Italy gained her religious importance on account of the temple of Hera/Juno which was situated on Cape Lacinium (Strabo, VI.1.11 C 261; Liv., XXIV.3.2; Scylax, 13; Dion. Per., 371; Eust., *Comm.*, 371. The last three are cited according to Müller's edition). The wealth and the prestige of this shrine made some distinguished "visitors" plunder its treasures. Hannibal decided to cancel his plan because of a dream (Cic., *Div.*, I.24.48), but the Roman censor Flavius Flaccus (Liv., XLII.3.1–11; Val. Max., I.1.20) and Pompey (App. *BCiv.*, V.133) did not restrain themselves. It seems that the shrine had lost its riches and was declining towards the end of Diodorus' life (Strabo, VI.1.11 C 261; cf. Plin., *NH.*, III.43, 96, 97 who does not mention the temple though the cape appears as a geographical landmark). It is interesting to note that both the temple of Hera/Juno (Lucan., II.434; Verg., *Aen.*, III.552) and that of Aphrodite (e.g. Polyb., I.55.7; Plin. *NH*, III.90; Pomp. Mela., *Chorog.*, II.119) were conspicuous landmarks due to their location. The case of Nysium is more complicated and cannot be discussed in a footnote. I dealt with it in my Ph.D dissertation (pp. 253–257), attempting to show that the oracle of Dionysus on the Pangaeum Mountain was intended. This oracle was consulted by Alexander the Great and by the father of Augustus (Suet., *Aug.*, 94.5).

[115] Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 136; Diod., V.20.2, XXV.10.1; Hor., *Carm.*, II.2.11; Vell. Pat., I.2.3; Strabo, III.5.5 C 169–170; Plin., *NH*, IV.120; Sil., *Pun.*, III.3–4; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, III.46; Scymn., 160–161; Dionys. Per., 453; Eust., 453 (according to Müller).

ἐμποϱίων. He repeatedly depicts the inhabitants of Gadeira as "the merchants of Gadeira" and praises their abilities as seamen. The city itself is described as a way-station to which various land and sea routes run.[116] To take a few examples, the Carthaginians, who dominated Gadeira for a long period of time, carried merchandise, especially metals (such as tin and lead) and cattle hides, from the islands of the north coast of Iberia via Gadeira through a sea-route which they kept hidden from every one else. The Romans were the first to reveal information regarding this route; Publius Crassus, the proconsul of *Hispania Ulterior* (96–95 BCE), having reached these islands, handed over the details to anyone interested. An example of a land-route may be found in a speech of Scipio Africanus who, during the Second Punic War, explained to his soldiers the reasons for attacking New Carthage. Apparently, the significance of New Carthage was partly owing to its position as a station on the road which runs from the Pyrenees to Gades.[117] Due primarily but not exclusively[118] to commerce, Gadeira became wealthy. According to Strabo, a census held in Gadeira in his own days showed that five hundred citizens were members of the equestrian order, an exceptional number, which had no parallel even among the towns of Italy, apart from Patavium. One might find further proof of Gadeira's riches in the obsession of her inhabitants with luxuries and amusements.[119]

Cerne, in the voyage of Myrina, is another example of a trading-post. Diodorus says that the Amazons, having arrived in the land of the Atlantians, defeated the inhabitants of Cerne, took control of the city and destroyed it. Later, however, they built a new one to bear the name of Myrina (III.54.4–5). Since the word πόλις appears twice in Diodorus' account, one must assume that Cerne was a city. Yet in other sources Cerne is referred to as an island. Although the evidence concerning its exact location varies and there is much controversy with regard to its identification, the following details are largely agreed upon: the

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[116] Hdt., IV.152; Strabo, II.3.4 C 99, III.1.8 C 140, 4.3 C 157, 4.9 C 160, 5.3 C 168–169; cf. *It. Ant.*, 405.7, 408.4, 409.1.

[117] Sea-route: Strabo, III.5.11 C 175–176. Land-route: Liv., XXVI.43.3–8.

[118] The city was known, in addition, for its fish (Athen., VII.302c, 315d; Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 136; Columella, *Rust.*, VIII.16.9) and fishermen (Strabo, II.3.4 C 99). The importance of fishing is also attested to on the coins of Gadeira, showing the head of Heracles on one side and tuna fish on the other. See Sutherland 1939, PL III no. 4 and p. 262; Arribas n.d., p. 129. For fishing and trade in Gadeira, see Charlesworth 1961, p. 157; Sutherland 1939, p. 102; Curchin 1990, pp. 142–143.

[119] Strabo, III.5.3 C 169; Mart., I.61, V.78, VI.71, XIV.203; Juv., XI.162.

island lay in the Atlantic Ocean, to the south of the Pillars of Heracles, close to the west coast of Libya (i.e. Africa), near a mouth of a river (probably the Lixus) and in a straight line from Carthage.[120] Thus it roughly corresponds with the position of Diodorus' Cerne. Except for Strabo, it should be added, none of the authors disputes the actual existence of a place called Cerne. Some modern scholars have identified it with the island of Arguin to the south of Cape Blanco; others with a small island called Herne in a bay close to the mouth of Rio do Ouro.[121] Be that as it may, the question that concerns us here is why would Diodorus refer to Cerne as a city without any mention of an island? The answer will be found in the account of Hanno, whom the Carthaginians sent on a voyage beyond the Pillars of Heracles to found cities (πόλεις κτίζειν).

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[120] An interesting description of the location of Cerne is given by the Carthaginian Hanno who, sailing southwards from the River Lixus along the coast of the desert (i.e. the Sahara) for two days, turned eastwards and sailed for one more day before arriving at a small island situated in a gulf. Having settled the island, he called it Cerne. Hanno estimates that it lay directly opposite Carthage (κατ' εὐθὺ κεῖσθαι Καρχηδόνος) and that the distance from Carthage to the Pillars of Heracles and thence to Cerne was the same (Hanno, 8. See Müller 1965, vol. 1, pp. 6–8; Oikonomides, Miller 1995, p. 18; Roller 2006, p. 130). For a discussion of Hanno's details and especially of the Greek expression cited, see Smith 1856, s.v. Cerne; Bunbury 1879, vol. 1, pp. 333–334; Thomson 1965, pp. 76–77. Palaephatus writes that the location of Cerne was out of the Pillars of Heracles (ἔξω τῶν Ἡρακλείων Στηλῶν), close to the River Annon (otherwise unknown) and directly opposite Carthage (his wording resembles that of Hanno, Palaeph., 31). See also Scylax, 112 (Müller 1965, vol. 1, pp. 93–94). Eratosthenes was censured by Strabo for believing that the island of Cerne was a real one (I.3.2 C 47–48; see Bunbury 1879, vol. 2, pp. 216, 633 who argues that Strabo has no grounds for doubting the existence of Cerne). Traces of doubt may also be found in Pliny (*NH*, V.8), who claims that many of the cities founded by Hanno, whose accounts have been largely followed by the Greek and Roman writers (such as Polybius: Walbank 1979, vol. 3, p. 633; Aly 1927, pp. 317–330), were not real. Elsewhere, however, Pliny quotes Ephorus, Polybius and Nepos, thus proving that Cerne was a place known not only in the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries, but continued to be mentioned down to the first century BCE. The location given by Polybius for Cerne (the extremity of Mauretania facing the Atlas Mountain) supports the assumption that the island of Cerne and Diodorus' Cerne are one and the same. Nepos' version is also interesting, since he lived approximately at the same time as Diodorus (c. 99–24 BCE). His statement that the island lies *ex adverso maxime Carthaginis* (precisely opposite Carthage) seems to be an interpretation of Hanno's κατ' εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος (*NH*, VI.198–199. Cf. X.22 for further mention of the island). According to Ptolemy, Cerne was one of the islands in the western ocean near Libya (*Geog.*, IV.6.33). References to Cerne are made in genres other than history and geography: Lycoph., *Alex.*, 18–19; Nonus, *Dion.*, XVI.45, XXXVI.6, XXXVIII.287. See also Dion. Per., 217–219 (Müller 1965, vol. 2, p. 114). See recently Roller 2006, pp. 37–38, 42.

[121] See, for instance, the discussion of Bunbury 1879, vol. 1, pp. 323–324; Cary, Warmington 1963, pp. 64–66. Herne is the preferred option.

Hanno writes that, having discovered a small island to the south of the River Lixus, "we settled it naming it Cerne", κατῳκίσαμεν Κέρνην ὀνομάσαντες.[122] Hence it is reasonable to assume that a city had been established in the newly discovered island and that, in the absence of another name, both the city and the island were called Cerne. This was a common practice in ancient as well as in modern times: Cyrene was the name of both a country in North Africa and a town within its boundaries; an island close to the Illyrian coast and its city were both called Issa. The same exists nowadays in the cases of Singapore, Mexico and Tunisia. One may also recall Strabo's attempt to define the position of the island of Lesbos among the Aeolians, saying that it was the μητρόπολις, that is the chief *city*, of the Aeolian cities. Diodorus' only fault, therefore, lies in his failure to mention the fact that Cerne was a town in an island of the same name.

Scylax refers to Cerne as a trading station. He states that the Phoenicians are merchants (οἱ δὲ ἔμποροί εἶσι μὲν Φοίνικες) and that on their arrival in the island of Cerne, they bring their ships to anchor and make tents for themselves. Then they take out the cargo and transport it in small vessels to the mainland.[123] Although this detailed description of the merchants' activities leaves no room for speculation as to the role played by Cerne, it is worth looking at some of the hints offered by other sources. Strabo, as noted, doubts the existence of Cerne, yet elsewhere in his work he states that to the south of the River Lixus lies the Mercantile Gulf (κόλπος Ἐμπορικός), which contains commercial Phoenician settlements. Since it is most likely that the island of Cerne is situated in this same gulf, it is possible that the city of Cerne was one of the settlements to which Strabo refers.[124] Herodotus does not mention Cerne either, but his story, according to which the Carthaginians come to a place in Libya beyond the Pillars of Heracles, where they unload their cargo, alludes to the gulf in which this island lies. We have Palaephatus to reinforce this supposition: whereas Herodotus says that the inhabitants of the region pay for the merchandise in gold, Palaephatus states that the dwellers of Cerne were rich in gold.[125]

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[122] Hanno, 1, 8 (Müller 1965, vol. 1, pp. 1, 6–8).

[123] Scylax, 112 (Müller 1965, vol. 1, pp. 93–94).

[124] Strabo, XVII.3.2 C 825–826. Judging from Hanno's account (9–11, Müller 1965, vol. 1, pp. 8–9), who made Cerne a sort of a "base" from which he set out southwards twice, Cerne was the chief Phoenician settlement of those mentioned by Strabo.

[125] Hdt., IV.196; Palaeph., 31.

The significance of Cerne as a trading-post is further demonstrated in the Carthaginians' efforts to conceal information concerning trade routes leading to the Atlantic coast of Africa. Reading the account of Hanno, cited above, one gets the impression that he tried to avoid giving any precise data regarding paths and settlements. The anonymous writer of *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* maintains that the Carthaginians took steps to prevent other peoples from discovering an island in the Atlantic Ocean, declaring that they would inflict the punishment of death on those who proposed to sail there and that they had massacred all the inhabitants so that they might not tell the story. Strabo notes that in previous times the Phoenicians dominated the commerce from Gadeira, keeping the maritime route hidden from every one else. The geographer also records an incident in which the Romans followed a certain Carthaginian ship in order to learn about the markets, but the ship's captain deliberately drove his ship into shoal water. Losing his ship and the cargo, he caused his pursuers to suffer the same fate but he himself escaped and was compensated for his loss at the public expense. Furthermore, quoting Eratosthenes, Strabo tells of a Carthaginian custom to drown in the sea foreigners who sailed past their land to Sardinia or to the Pillars of Heracles and for this reason, he adds, men disbelieve many of the stories about the west.[126] Since Cerne was situated in the area discussed in these passages, it was probably one of the trade stations that the Carthaginians tried to hide. At the same time it is possible that this secrecy instigated the different versions regarding Cerne's location.

The destruction of Carthage put an end to the commerce on the Atlantic coast of Africa.[127] As a consequence, Cerne lost its eminence and this was the beginning of a regressive process at the end of which Strabo would doubt the very existence of the island. Scipio Aemilianus, however, in an attempt to learn about the western parts of Africa and to renew the activity in this area, sent Polybius with a fleet but, as far as commerce was concerned, he gained no success.[128]

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[126] Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 84 (836b–837a); Strabo, III.5.11 C 175–176, XVII.1.19 C 802.

[127] For 146 BCE as a possible date for the end of the trade in western Africa, see Plin., *NH.*, II.169. He quotes Caelius Antipater, a Roman author who long before the time of Nepos (that is towards mid-first century BCE) claimed to have seen someone who had gone on a journey from Spain to Ethiopia for commercial purposes. This record of a single individual stands in a sharp contrast with the actions of commanders such as Hanno at the period of Carthage's zenith (see also *NH.*, V.8).

[128] Plin., *NH.*, V.9, VI.199. For a discussion of Cerne, its location, Carthaginian trade etc., see Bunbury 1879, vol. 1, pp. 323–324, 334–335; Smith 1856, s.v. Cerne; Walbank

Two other cities, namely Ecbatana and Bactra, are good examples of trade centres. Yet, since these cities had achieved their position owing to their location on important crossroads, they may well illustrate another category of sites that prevail in Diodorus' journeys of gods and heroes. In her tour of Asia, Semiramis arrived in Ecbatana and Bactra, two of the most notable cities of this continent. Commencing with Ecbatana, the significance of this town is attested to by the terms used by the ancient authors to describe it: μητρόπολις or *Caput Mediae* (capital of Media), τὸ βασίλειον/τὰ βασίλεια (the Royal Seat) and μεγάλη πόλις (great City).[129]

The location of Ecbatana, in a broad and fertile plain of northern Media (now Hamadan in west-central Iran), made it a staging post on the main East-West highway. Beginning in Palibothra in India, the road passed through Taxila, Alexandria-Kapisa, Bactra, and Hecatompylus, whence it continued to Ecbatana and Artemita, until it reached Seleucia on the Tigris.[130] Ecbatana was also one of the stations on the route from Antioch to Alexandropolis (Kandahar), described by Isidore of Charax. A third road, named by Curtius Rufus *via militaris*, a military road, passed through Ecbatana. It began in either Babylon or Susa and, via Ecbatana, continued to the Caspian Gates.[131]

Like Ecbatana, Bactra (the modern Balkh in northern Afghanistan) was a capital city, that of Bactria. Again, the vocabulary employed by the ancient authors is evidence of its significance. They depict Bactra as *regionis eius caput* (the principal city of that region, i.e. Bactria), τὰ βασίλεια or Βάκτρα βασίλειον (the Royal Seat) and crown it as Bactria's greatest town, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν. Taking into consideration that Bactria was celebrated for her numerous cities—her governor is

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1979, vol. 3, pp. 637–638; Mauny 1949, pp. 47–67, esp. map p. 63; Pédech 1955, p. 322; Thouvenot 1948, pp. 79–92; Heeren 1969, vol. 1, pp. 180, 496–500; Cary, Warmington 1963, pp. 64–66, 219; Hennig 1944, p. 87 n. 1; Lancel 1995, pp. 106–107. For the Carthaginian trade, see also Church 1914, pp. 118–125; Bovill 1968, pp. 19–21. For Polybius' exploration, see e.g. Roller 2006, pp. 99–104.

[129] Polyb., V.27.5; Diod., XVII.110.6–7, XIX.44.4; Strabo, XI.13.1 C 522; Plin., *NH*., VI.43; Isidor. Char., *Parth*., 6; Curt., V.8.1; cf. Hdt., III.64, 92. See also *Book of Ezra*, 6.2: בירתא די במדי מדינתא.

[130] Isidor. Char., *Parth*., 2–19; Strabo, XI.8.9 C 514, 13.5–8 C 524–525; Plin., *NH*., V.42–45; cf. Polyb., V.44; Arr., III.19–20. See Tarn 1951, pp. 61–62; Tarn, Griffith 1952, p. 243; Rawlinson 1971, pp. 115, 128; Cary 1949, pp. 192–194; Warmington 1974, p. 22; Grainger 1990a, p. 149.

[131] Isidor. Char., *Parth*., 6; Curt., V.8.5; Arr., III.19.2. For Ecbatana's key role in the road system, see also Miller 1988, pp. 782–783, 791–792.

described as *mille urbium Bactrianorum praefectus* (the governor of the thousand Bactrian cities)—this is more than a mere statement.[132] Yet it was its location, in the centre of Asia, that made Bactra one of the most important junctions of Asia. Two of the main routes connecting East and West passed through the city. As noticed, Bactra was a staging post on the major thoroughfare which began in Palibothra and ended in Seleucia on the Tigris.[133] The second route, partly maritime and partly land route, is referred to by Strabo. Quoting Aristobulus (an author who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East), he says that large quantities of Indian products are conveyed along the Oxus River and brought to the Caspian Sea; thence across the Caspian they are carried to the Black Sea by way of the Cyrus River. Bactra, close to the Oxus River, inevitably served as a station for those travelling along this lane.[134]

A third important route which runs through Bactra is the Silk Road. According to Ptolemy, the geographer, the road stretches eastwards to Bactra and thence northwards to the Comedus Mountains and eastwards to the land of the Seres.[135] To sum up Bactra's unique position in the road network of Asia one may recall Strabo's statement, twice repeated on two different occasions in his work, according to which there were three different roads leading out of Bactra. In a list of distances between various sites in Asia, Strabo notes the distance "to the meeting point of three roads from Bactra", ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκ Βάκτρων τρίοδον. Then, tracing the route from the Caspian Gates, through Parthia and Bactria until "the meeting point" mentioned, he employs the very

[132] Curt., VII.4.31; Diod., II.6.2; Ptol., *Geog.*, VI.11.9; Arr., III.29.1, IV.1.5. For Bactria's thousand cities, see Iust., XLI.1.8, 4.5 and Strabo, XV.1.3 C 686. See also Strabo, who specifically mentions Bactra (together with Daraspa and Eucratideia) when discussing Bactria's cities, dismissing the rest with the words "and many others", καὶ ἄλλας πλείους (XI.11.2 C 516), and Ammianus Marcellinus, who distinguishes Bactra from Bactria's other towns, maintaining that both the kingdom and its people derive their name from the city (XXIII.6.58; cf. Curt., VII.4.31; Strabo, XI.11.2 C 516; Plin., *NH*, VI.48).

[133] Plin., *NH*, VI.45; cf. Arr., IV.22.3–4. See Tarn 1951, pp. 61–62, 139; Holt 1988, p. 11; Holt 1999, pp. 37–41; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, pp. 65–67; and also Tarn, Griffith 1952, p. 243; Warmington 1974, pp. 22–24; Charlesworth 1961, pp. 103–104.

[134] Strabo, XI.7.3 C 509. For Bactra as part of these two main highways, see Miller 1969, pp. 149–150 and map between pp. 144 and 145.

[135] Ptol., *Geog.*, I.12.7–10; cf. Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.60. See Warmington 1974, pp. 22–23; Boulnois 1966, pp. 62–63; Miller 1969, pp. 121–137; Barger 1939, pp. 387–388; Wood 2002, pp. 36–47, for Bactria esp. 36, 39; de la Vaissière 2004, pp. 20–21 and maps pp. 8–11, showing the role of Balkh.

same phrasing.[136] The three roads mentioned connected Bactra with the rest of the countries of Asia, thus turning the city into a primary trading centre.[137]

Ecbatana and Bactra were both magnificent and rich cities. Adding to them the neighbouring Babylon (also in the voyage of Semiramis) or the far western Syracuse (to which Heracles came), reveals Diodorus' interest in marvellous and famous cities. Herodotus and Polybius devote almost a whole chapter to the assets of Ecbatana. Herodotus concentrates on the city's fortifications, which consist of seven circles of walls; two of them are coated with either silver or gold. He mentions also treasuries and a palace, on which Polybius offers more information. Though he has his doubts, wondering how many of the details were an invention, Polybius describes the palace at length, saying that the building was made of fine woods all coated with silver and gold. Ammianus Marcellinus is indeed brief, but in a few words he manages to stress the status of Ecbatana; the city was conspicuous, he states, for its wealth and the greatness of its walls, *opibus et magnitudine moenium*.[138] Furthermore, with Susa, Ecbatana was considered both the heart of the Persian Empire and its pride (κόμπος ... Περσικός).[139] To imagine the full extent of Ecbatana's wealth one may think of its capacity to supply Antiochus III with a sufficient quantity of precious metals for minting coins bearing his own image, even after the city's treasures had already been plundered by both Alexander and the *Diadochi*.[140]

Bactra, as noted previously, was the capital city of Bactria. Justin refers to Bactria as "the wealthiest Bactrian Empire", *opulentissimum ... Bactrianum imperium*, when listing the kingdoms of Asia, whereas the others—Assyria, Media and Persia—he mentions by their name only.

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136 Strabo, XI.8.9 C 514, XV.2.8 C 723.

137 See Bunbury 1879, vol. 1, pp. 486–487; Rawlinson 1971, p. 69; Tarn 1951, p. 139; Miller 1969, pp. 174, 211–212. A table listing the region's trade routes in Miller (pp. 148–152) shows that almost every overland route, whether connecting the countries of Asia to each other or to the West, passed through Bactra.

138 Hdt. I.98; Polyb., X.27.3–10; Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.39. See also the reference to Plin., *NH.*, VI.43 and compare with the description of אחמאתא (Ecbatana) in the *Book of Judith*, 1.1–4. See Hadas 1959, p. 168; Walbank 1967a, vol. 2, pp. 233–234; Moore 1985, pp. 124–125.

139 Xen., *Cyr.*, VIII.6.22; Ael., *NA*, XIII.18.

140 Polyb., X.27.11–13. The information regarding Ecbatana is rather sparse, since the site, in which the modern city of Hamadan stands, was never excavated. See Hornblower, Spawforth 1996, s.v Ecbatana; *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* 1962, vol. 2, s.v. Ecbatana; Bunbury 1879, vol. 1, pp. 258–259; Bevan 1966, vol. 1, pp. 263–264; Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, p. 480. See also my discussion: Sulimani 2005, pp. 49–51.

Curtius Rufus also emphasizes the riches of the country, but highlights the position of the city itself, as he speaks of Bactra together with the other "riches of the untouched region", *Bactra et intactae regionis opulenta*. Elsewhere Curtius describes the city as possessing property and wealth, *bonis et opulentia*, beyond imagination.[141]

Also in Asia is Babylon, to which I will return later, for this city, apart from being rich, was also a trade centre and served as an important junction in the road system. Hence it will be a good link to the next feature of Diodorus' journeys that I intend to discuss, namely the nature of roads described by the author. Another impressive town was Syracuse in which, according to Diodorus, Heracles arrived in his circuit of Sicily (IV.23.4). The second speech of Cicero against Verres, in which he accused the former governor of Sicily of sacking Syracuse, is a good source to start with, attempting to learn about the splendour of this city. I am well aware of the fact that Cicero, trying to convince the jury of Verres' guilt, might have exaggerated, yet there are other works, of various genres, to support him. Cicero depicts Syracuse as the largest of the Greek cities (*urbem … maximam esse Graecarum*) and as the most beautiful of them all (*pulcherrimam omnium*). He also refers to the city as *praeclara* (marvellous) and employs the superlative *ornatissima*, which may point also to the wealth of Syracuse, if translated "equipped" as well as "embellished". Adjectives such as these and still more are frequently used by Cicero to describe Syracuse's many assets. The temple of Minerva, for instance, was *aedes ornatissima* before Verres came to the town and full of unique paintings and other treasures; the senate-house was most splendid, *amplissima curia*; and the temple of Jupiter was outstanding, *templum egregium*. In addition, there existed a great theatre (*summam theatrum*), a spacious (*amplissimum*) gymnasium and two other *egregia templa*, one of Ceres and the other of Libera. One may also find in Syracuse most beautiful (the superlative of *pulcher* is used) statues of Apollo Temenites and Jupiter Imperator.[142]

All these point to the opulence of Syracuse, which is also referred to by Strabo. The geographer states that the city's wealth was so great (τοσοῦτον … πλοῦτον), that the name of its inhabitants was applied abroad in a

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141 Iust., XLI.1.8; Curt., V. 9.16, 10.9. For Bactra see, for example, Tarn 1951, pp. 114–116 and passim; Holt 1988, pp. 28–29, 31–32 and passim; Holt 1999, pp. 128–130 and passim; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, pp. 103–105; Holt 2005, esp. pp. 23–26, and also Sulimani 2005, pp. 55–58.

142 Cic., *Verr.* 2, IV.52.115–59.132.

proverb denoting excessive extravagance. Diodorus strengthens Cicero's descriptions of Syracuse's public buildings, maintaining that her theatre was the most beautiful in Sicily; his choice of words also corresponds with that of the Roman orator: θέατρον … κάλλιστον. Elsewhere the historian compares Syracuse with Antioch on the Orontes. The comparison itself bears out the prominence of Syracuse, for Antioch, the royal seat of the Seleucids, had been considered the "metropolis" of Syria and, according to Strabo, did not fall much short, either in power or in size, of Seleucia on the Tigris or Alexandria in Egypt.[143]

Since Diodorus himself dwells on the wonders of Babylon throughout four whole chapters (II.7.2–10.6), it would be appropriate to include this city in the present discussion. Again, as in the case of Ecbatana and Bactra, the Greek words μητρόπολις and βασίλειον and the Latin *caput* are used to describe the status of Babylon.[144] Herodotus, who also devotes several chapters to this city, states that it was the most famous and the most powerful among the many great cities of Assyria. He describes the walls, the palace, the precinct of Belus with its various towers and the great temple, in which one could find several golden artifacts, such as a table, a chair, an altar and an image of the god.[145] Curtius puts it more bluntly when he speaks of Babylon as the richest city (*urbem opulentissimam*), refers to the beauty of the city (*urbis pulchritudo*) and considers it one of the ornaments of the Persian kingdom (*ornamenta regni*). Whereas Curtius regards Babylon as "the cause of war" (*causa belli*), Arrian refers to the city as "the prize of the war" (τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἆθλον). Like Herodotus, Ammianus Marcellinus notes that there are many conspicuous cities in Assyria, but Babylon was one of the three *splendidissimae*, to use his superlative.[146] Finally, Diodorus' detailed

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[143] Strabo, VI.2.4 C 269, XVI.2.5 C 750; Diod., XVI.83.3, XXVI.19; cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Συράκουσαι. For a discussion of Syracuse in general see, for example, Freeman n.d., vol. 1, esp. pp. 345–360, vol. 2, passim; Bérard 1957, pp. 116–138; Dunbabin 1948, passim; Miller 1970, pp. 6–7 and passim; Randall-MacIver 1970, pp. 86–170; Drögemüller 1969, passim; Caven 1990, passim; Holloway 1991, pp. 68–69 and passim; Guido 1977, pp. 159–188; Wilson 1988, pp. 111–123; Wilson 1990, pp. 38–40, 56–57, 175–180, 320–329, 339–342; Jannelli, Longo 2004, pp. 58–71.

[144] Hdt., I.178; Strabo, II.1.31 C 84, XV.3.9 C 731, XVI.1.16 C 743; Plin., *NH*, VI.121.

[145] Hdt. I.178–183. At I.184–187 the historian deals with the deeds of Semiramis and Nitocris, both Assyrian queens, in Babylon.

[146] Curt., V.1.7, 24; Arr., III.16.2; Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.23. Curtius also refers to the walls of Babylon which, according to him, were of immense work, *ingentis operis* (V.1.16, 25) and depicts the city at some length (V.1.25–35). The walls are also mentioned by Ammianus.

account (based on Ctesias) of the walls of Babylon, her palaces, the so called Hanging Gardens and other features of the town, confirms the position of Babylon as a great and wealthy city.

However, the remarks of ancient authors, according to which Babylon decayed during the Hellenistic era, losing its eminence to Seleucia, which was founded on the banks of the Tigris River at the end of the fourth century BCE,[147] lead us to yet another question: did it matter to Diodorus whether the sites which his heroes visited retained their significance in his own days? I have shown elsewhere that while Babylon lost some of its former eminence, there is good reason to believe that the town continued to be one of the most important cities of the Seleucid kingdom. I will not go into detail but, for the sake of the discussion here, I will mention some of the findings. Ammianus Marcellinus, to begin with, counts both Babylon and Seleucia as two of the most distinguished of Assyria's notable cities, without suggesting that the latter acquired the place of Babylon. Furthermore, there are archaeological findings (such as a clay tablet containing a Greek inscription, from 110 or 109 BCE, which records the names of the winners of athletic competitions, evidence of the existence of a gymnasium; a Greek theatre, built at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and later renovated by the Seleucids) to point out that a Greek *polis* had been founded in Babylon, possibly earlier than the reign of Antiochus IV. Babylon possessed, in addition, a mint, which continued to issue its own coins, even after Seleucus I's coronation and the establishment of Seleucia on the Tigris. Her importance for the Seleucid kings is also reflected in religious life: Antiochus I offered sacrifices to the city's gods and restored its temple, while during Seleucus III's reign, local religious festivals were celebrated in the city.[148] It seems that Diodorus portrays Babylon according to its actual position in his own age: he was well aware of the diminished status of the town, arguing that it was only partly populated and that much of its land had been turned over to agriculture, yet he knew that Babylon had become a Greek *polis*, as he mentions an *agora* within the city.[149] Thus his picture of Babylon differs from that of an impoverished and abandoned city as painted by Strabo or by Pliny.

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[147] Strabo, XVI.1.5 C 738, cf. XVI.1.16 C 743; Plin., *NH*, VI.121–122; see also Diod., II.9.9; Paus., I.16.3, VIII.33.3.

[148] For the evidence, studies and discussion, see Sulimani 2005, pp. 46–48.

[149] Diod., II.9.9, XXXIV/XXXV.21; cf. Posidonius, *FGrHist.*, IIA, 87 F 13; Iust., XLII. 1.3.

The status of Ecbatana and Bactra in the Hellenistic era reinforces the conclusion that it was Diodorus' intention to include in the journeys of his heroes cities which had some significance in his own days. Alexander the Great had already defined both Ecbatana and Bactra, together with Persepolis and the easternmost boundaries of the Persian Empire, as his prime military objectives.[150] Strabo and Curtius Rufus, employing the words νῦν/*nunc*, remark that in their time Ecbatana remained the Parthian rulers' formal summer residence, while Isidore, using the present tense, writes that the Ecbatanians "are always offering sacrifices", ἀεὶ θύουσιν. One may see in these statements an indication of a continuous political and religious life in Ecbatana. An examination of the occurrences that took place in the city provides us with another angle to evaluate the position of Ecbatana in the Hellenistic era. Alexander and his successors used the city as a military base and kept their treasure in it;[151] Antiochus IV founded a Greek town in Ecbatana, naming it Epiphaneia after his own sobriquet, and installed a mint in the city, which continued to operate well into the reign of Demetrius I.[152]

In the case of Bactra, a survey of the events that occurred in Bactria gives even more striking results. The *Diadochi* and the Hellenistic kings followed in the footsteps of Alexander who, conquering the city, had surrounded it with colonies, to settle his Greek soldiers. Seleucus I, for instance, occupied Bactria shortly after his conquest of Babylon and, crowning his son, Antiochus, king of the northern parts of Asia, he established Bactria as the centre of his son's kingdom. After the consolidation of the Seleucid kingdom, Diodotus, governor of Bactria, rebelled against his king, Antiochus II, and declared Bactria an independent kingdom. Antiochus III, in his attempt to regain the land, forced its ruler Euthydemus to barricade himself inside Bactra. Eventually, Antiochus agreed to come to terms, according to which Euthydemus retained the title of king but, in return, had to recognize the Seleucid's ascendancy and provide Antiochus with any logistical help he might need on his expedition. These examples should suffice; nonetheless, one should also bear in mind

[150] Curt., IV.5.8.

[151] Alexander: Arr., III.19.5; Diod., XVII.80.3, 110.7; Strabo, XV.3.9 C 731; Iust., XII. 1.3; his successors: Diod., XIX.19.2, 44.4, 46.6; Ecbatana as a treasury in general: Isidor. Char., *Parth*., 6.

[152] Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀγβάτανα; For the coins, see Newell 1978, 162–227; Le Rider 1965, pp. 324–345; Mørkholm, 1966, pp. 111–113, 177–179; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, pp. 74, 223. For the founding of Epiphaneia, see Sulimani 2005, p. 49 n. 13.

the exposure of Bactria to Greek culture, its cultivation by the Greek settlers and the prosperity of the land in the Hellenistic era. It was not until the middle of the second century BCE that the land was conquered by invaders from the East.[153]

Returning to Babylon, it remains to examine the role played by this city in the road system. The location of Babylon, on the banks of the Euphrates River, offered the town some advantages. Strabo, making a comparison between the Euphrates and the Tigris, describes the winding route of the Euphrates—beginning in the northern Taurus, the river flowed through a number of countries, including Armenia and Syria, until it reached the Persian Gulf—and attests to the fact that it was big and easy to navigate.[154] One might assume, therefore, that the Euphrates was a convenient way to transport commodities from the Persian Gulf to the interior. Hence Babylon, inevitably, became a major trading station.

Diodorus' myth of Semiramis supports this conjecture and, as usual, this is not merely a myth. In his depiction of the Assyrian queen's deeds, the author says that she founded cities along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, in which she established trading-places (ἐμπόρια) for those delivering merchandise from Media, Paraetacene and all the surrounding lands. Indeed, it was a mythical figure that carried out this venture, but the details are quite real. Moreover, the mythical story is followed by an accurate historical and geographical explanation, which corresponds with the features given by Strabo and yet adds specific information regarding trade. Beginning with a discussion of the sources of both rivers, Diodorus states that they are big and, passing through vast lands, offer many advantages to those who look for commercial activities. Consequently, the banks of each river were crowded with flourishing trading-places which increased the fame of Babylonia (II.11.1–3). Again, one may assume that Babylon on the Euphrates was one of these successful commerce centres. Further proof may be found in Diodorus' account of the orders given by Alexander to Nearchus to meet him at the mouth of the Euphrates at the end of the latter's voyage along the coasts of the Indian Ocean (XVII.104.3, 107.1). This means that use had

[153] Alexander: Curt. IX.7.1; cf. Diod., XVII.99.5. Seleucus I: Iust., XV.4.10–11; Plut., *Dem.*, 46. Diodotus: Iust., XLI.4.5; Strabo, XI.9.2–3 C 515, cf. XI.11.1–3 C 516–517, XV.1.3 C 686. Antiochus III: Polyb., X.49, XI.34, cf. XXIX.12.8. Bactria's conquest: Strabo, XI.8.2, 8.4 C 511. For further examples, see Sulimani 2005, pp. 56–59.

[154] Strabo, II.1.26 C 80, XI.12.3 C 521, 14.2 C 527, 14.8 C 529, XV.3.5 C 729, XVI.1.5 C 738, 1.9 C 739–740.

been made of the route connecting the Persian Gulf to the Euphrates, on whose bank Babylon lies. In the competition with Seleucia on the Tigris, through which several important trade routes passed, Babylon retained her status, commanding, at least according to Strabo, a different and possibly more favourable trade route as far as transporting goods from the Persian Gulf was concerned.[155]

Trade routes and main roads are other characteristics of Diodorus' journeys of mythical heroes. The six figures discussed here travelled along Eastern and Western principal highways, advanced through roads traversed by famous historical individuals and passed through straits and passages that were in frequent use in antiquity. An obvious example, to illustrate both the use of a highway and a road which was employed by notable men, is the route taken by Heracles from Iberia to Italy. Having arrived in Iberia and accomplished his tenth mission, Heracles did not return to Greece by travelling along the same route in reverse but he proceeded in the same direction, making his voyage a complete circle. He made his way through Iberia, reached *Celtica* (i.e. Transalpine Gaul), where he founded the city of Alesia, crossed the *Alps*, came to *Galatia* (i.e. Cisalpine Gaul),[156] *Liguria*, *Etruria* and finally reached Italy, the Palatine Hill, to be precise (IV.19.1–21.1). This part of his way back to Greece immediately brings to mind Hannibal's expedition to Italy. A comparison of the two journeys, the mythological and the historical, reveals that the route taken by Heracles was not only a real one, but corresponds with the principal roads leading to Rome.

Tracing the voyage of the Punic commander in Polybius and Livy reveals the following details: he set out from New Carthage, crossed the Ebro River and the Pyrenees, arriving in the land of the *Celtic/Gallic*

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[155] See Sherwin-White 1987, pp. 18–19. For Babylon's position in the road system, see also Miller 1988, pp. 790–791.

[156] Celtica and Galatia are two Greek names employed alternately for the land which the Romans called Gallia. Diodorus himself uses them as synonyms; on one occasion he even employs Galatia in the first part of a sentence, while Celtica appears in the second, referring to the same land (V.38.5, see also V.24.1–25.1, 25.4–5). Polybius, for example, names the tribes that lived on the borders of both Iberia and Italy Κελτοί (II.13.5–7, 17.3, III.39.4); elsewhere he explains that the Γαλάται Τρανσαλπῖνοι were thus named by the Romans for they dwelled beyond the Alps (II.15.8, 19.1), while Strabo translates the term into ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄλπεων Κελτική (IV.1.1 C 176, V.1.3 C 211). Ptolemy (*Geog.*, II.7–10) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Λούγδουνος) only add to the confusion, embracing the name Κελτογαλατία. However, since Diodorus mentions Alesia, a city in Transalpine Gaul, in his Celtica, it would appear that, by the latter name, Transalpine Gaul is meant whereas since crossing the Alps brought Heracles from Celtica to Galatia, it seems that, in this particular case, by Galatia Diodorus refers to Cisalpine Gaul.

tribes. Then, approaching the Rhone (Rhodanus), Hannibal crossed the river and continued his march up the stream. The passage of the *Alps* came next. Both authors mention a place called the "Island" at the meeting point of the Rhone and the Isere rivers visited by Hannibal before he began climbing the mountain range. Having crossed the Alps, he reached the land of the *Celtic/Gallic tribes* which is bordered by Italy and came to the Po (Padus) valley. In the vicinity of Placentia and the River Trebia he encountered the Roman army but, once the battle ended, Hannibal advanced into *Liguria* and, taking the short way (passing through a region full of marshes) to *Etruria*, he arrived in Lake Trasumennus, where the Romans suffered one of their most severe defeats.[157]

The sites which I have italicized illustrate the parallel nature of the mythical and the historical journeys. It is worth noting, however, that several stages of Hannibal's expedition are not altogether clear. This is true of the crossing of the Rhone (where exactly did the Carthaginians ford the river?), the detection of the place called "Island" (which is the river that in meeting the Rhone forms an "island"?), and the crossing of the Alps (which of the available passageways did Hannibal choose?). Though scholars have endeavoured to resolve these questions, there is still much controversy.[158] Yet it is unnecessary to get to the bottom of these issues as my main concern here is to prove that, in shaping the course of Heracles, Diodorus thought of a route used by people of the Hellenistic era.

It is not only the similarity in their routes that brings to mind this idea, but other indications which link Hannibal and Heracles. According to Livy, in a speech to his soldiers, Scipio wondered whether Hannibal was a rival of the journeys of Heracles (*aemulus itinerum Herculis*), as he himself would assume (*ut ipse fert*), or had been destined to be a slave of

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[157] The references to each site in the order in which they are mentioned are as follows: Polyb., III.33.5, 39.5; 35.2; 40.1; 41.6–7; 42.1–44.1; 49.5–7; 50.1–56.2; 60.1–13, 65.1, 66.5; 69.5, 74.8; Liguria is missing; 78.6, 79.1–80.1; 82.9–84.15. Liv., XXI.21.1, 22.5; XXI.23.1; 24.1; 24.4; 27.1–29.4, 31.1–3, cf. 30.2–11; 31.4–5; 32.6–37.5; 38.5–6, 39.5; 49.1; 59.10; XXII.2.2–11; 4.1–6.12.

[158] See, for example, Arnold 1886, pp. 12–15, 18–27, 351–373; Dunbabin 1931, pp. 52–57, 121–125; Cary 1949, p. 248; Walbank 1956, pp. 37–56; Walbank 1957, vol. 1, pp. 377–378; Cottrell 1960, pp. 45–81; Klotz 1964, p. 130; de Beer 1969, pp. 120–182; Proctor 1971, pp. 89–96, 118–206; Lazenby 1978, pp. 34–48; Rivet 1988, pp. 27–32; Peddie, 1997, pp. 16–28; Lancel 1998, pp. 67–72. For the ancients' awarness of the various versions concerning Hannibal's passage of the Alps, see Liv., XXI.38.6; Sen., *Qnat*., III.Pref.6.

the Romans. His words suggest that Hannibal wished to emulate Heracles (i.e. Melkart). This is confirmed by the fact that Hannibal had visited the temple of Heracles in Gadeira to renew his vows to him before he set off for his campaign.[159] Yet the influence might be reciprocal. It is possible that those authors who wrote the myth of Heracles after the age of Hannibal made some changes in his route, having in mind the Punic expedition. Diodorus furnishes a good example. While his version of the voyage of the mythical hero seems to be inspired by Hannibal's march to Italy (even the visit to Gadeira appears in both stories), he further updates the myth to correspond with the events of his own days, adding Alesia, a town which Caesar occupied.

Hannibal's voyage is the obvious choice, but there are other historical journeys to illustrate that Heracles advanced along real roads. Scipio, being sent against Hannibal, made his way to Spain. He sailed from Pisae along the shores of *Liguria* and, reaching Massilia in *Transalpine Gaul*, he marched to the nearest mouth of the Rhone. Having found out that the Carthaginians had already left, Scipio resolved to return to Italy, thence to advance by land through *Etruria* to the passage of the *Alps* and there to catch Hannibal by surprise. In the Po valley he came across the enemy.[160] Although there is a major difference between the routes taken by Scipio and that of Heracles—as the Roman general made part of his way by sea[161]—the fact that some of the stations along the sea-route correspond with Heracles' land-route demonstrates that these were signposts along the path leading from Spain to Italy and vice versa. Furthermore, the land section of Scipio's itinerary resembles Heracles' course, bearing in mind that he made his way in the opposite direction.

During the war against Sertorius in Spain, Pompey wrote a letter to the senate in which he requested military and financial support. In order to convince the senators, he detailed his achievements hitherto: he drove the enemy already at the throat of Italy from the *Alps* into *Spain*; through the Alps he paved a route different from that taken by

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159 Liv., XXI.41.7, 21.9.

160 Polyb., III.41.4–5, 49.1–4, 56.5–6, 64.1, 65.1, 66.1, 66.9, 68.5; Liv., XXI.26.3–4, 32.1–2, 39.3–10, 47.2–3, 48.6.

161 The path chosen by Scipio was just as difficult. Polybius states that Hannibal marvelled at Scipio's resourcefulness, knowing that sailing from Massilia to Etruria was arduous and likewise the land trip from the Tyrrhenian Sea (i.e. the coast of Etruria) to the Alps (III.61.2–3). Compare with the seafaring voyage of Claudius from Ostia to Massilia on his way to Britain: the *princeps* was twice caught in a storm which put him in serious danger (Suet., *Claud.*, 17.2; Dio, LX.21.3).

Hannibal, one more suitable for the Romans; he recovered *Gaul*, the Pyrenees, Lacetania and the Indigetes; he defeated the enemy near the rivers Sucro and Turia and at the town of Valentia.[162] All these, despite Pompey's exaggerations (Sertorius, for one, never set out for Italy), shed light on his voyage. He set off from Italy, crossed the Alps and came to the Gaul called Narbonensis (which formed a part of Transalpine Gaul), crossed the Pyrenees and traversed Spain along its Mediterranean coast. Except for a different passage of the Alps, Pompey's journey resembles that of Hannibal.

These historical examples enable us to sketch the itinerary of Heracles and, in particular, to fill the gaps in Diodorus' description, where the author does not offer any detailed information. Leaving Gadeira in Iberia (I use the same name as Diodorus), Heracles probably moved along the Mediterranean coast until he reached the Pyrenees. Having crossed them, he entered Gaul called Narbonensis. Approaching the River Rhone, the hero turned northwards and founded Alesia in a part of Gaul that, by the time of Augustus, was named Lugdunensis. Going southwards again, he went through the Rhone and crossed the Alps. Having arrived in Cisalpine Gaul, Heracles marched to Liguria and Etruria. The proposed route is based on the map of the Roman Empire, its boundaries and division into provinces in the Augustan era.[163] Diodorus thought, as noted, that Celtica, which corresponds with Transalpine Gaul, includes both Narbonensis and Lugdunensis. This reconstruction of Heracles' itinerary happens to coincide with some of the principal routes that had been in use prior to the Roman conquest, but were rebuilt, improved and became part of the Roman road network, serving both military and commercial purposes. In fact, each section of the proposed route matches a Roman road.

From Gadeira, the starting point of Heracles, a road runs all the way to the city of Narbo, which gave its name to the province of Narbonensis. This road passed through Corduba, thence turned to the coast line to join the route leading from New Carthage via the Pyrenees to Narbo. Milestones uncovered along this path attest that it had been repaired and

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[162] Sall., *Hist.*, II.98. See the commentary of McGushin 1992, pp. 244–246; his organization of the fragments is, however, different from that of Maurenbrecher 1893 cited here: II.98 (Maurenbrecher) = II.82 (McGushin). For the crossing of the Alps also App., *BCiv.*, I.109.

[163] For the geographical knowledge in the early principate and the Augustan territorial organization, see e.g. Nicolet 1991, passim.

named (at least part of it) *Via Augusta* in the time of its eponym.[164] The road linking Narbo to the passage of the Rhone was also well-known. Some even call it *Via Heraclea* on account of the hero's journey in the region.[165] Both Polybius and Strabo depict the road; Polybius adds that in his days it had been carefully measured and marked with milestones by the Romans. The historian refers to the road which was later called *Via Domitia* after Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who initiated the work following his conquests in Transalpine Gaul.[166] The route was restored time and again—by Fonteius in 75 BCE, Tiberius in 31–32 CE and by later emperors—evidence of its frequent use. The popularity of the *Via Domitia* was due partly to the fact that it runs close to rivers along which it was easy to transport cargo either into the hinterland or to the sea.[167]

The next section in Heracles' itinerary, from the passage of the Rhone (to which he returned after his visit in Alesia) to the pass over the Alps, is described by Polybius. Discussing the distances which Hannibal had to traverse in order to get from New Carthage to the Po valley, the historian remarks that the road followed the bank of the river in the direction of its source as far as the passage of the Alps. Hannibal, as well as other famous men who made use of this path (such as Polybius himself and

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[164] Description of the route: Polyb., III.39.5–8; Strabo, III.4.9 C 160. Milestones: e.g. *CIL*, II, 4701, 4703–4711, 4936, 4937. See von Hagen 1966, pp. 115–116 and map p. 114; Chevallier 1976, pp. 155–158; Cary 1949, p. 242 and map pp. 232–233; Charlesworth 1961, pp. 151–152, 155–156; van Nostrand 1959, pp. 141–143; Sutherland 1939, pp. 108–110, 149–150 and map 3; Keay 1988, p. 49 and map p. 61; Curchin, 1991, pp. 134–136 and map p. 222; Richardson 1996, pp. 160–161. See also Kiepert 1800, tabula X; Grant 1994, map 58; Talbert 2000, map 26.

[165] Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 85; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I.41.1–3; Nep., *Hann.*, XXIII.3.4; cf. Lucian., *Heracles*, I.1–6.

[166] Polyb., III.39.8; Strabo, IV.1.3 C 178–179, 1.2 C 187. *Via Domitia*: *ILLRP*, 460a; cf. Cic., *Prov. Cons.*, XIII.33; Cic., *Font.*, 18; Suet., *Nero*, 2. There is a disagreement regarding the date in which the *Via Domitia* was built. If indeed it was paved in 118 BC, then how is it possible that Polybius already refers to a road which was marked with milestones by the Romans? Walbank (1957, vol. 1, p. 373) argues that "there is no real difficulty if this passage was inserted by Polybius about 118 as one of the last things he ever wrote", but see also Ebel 1976, pp. 62–63.

[167] For the repairs of the road, see e.g. Cic., *Font.*, 18; *CIL*, XII, 5445, 5557, 5628. For its advantages: Strabo, IV.1.2 C 177. For a general discussion of this road, see Radke 1964, pp. 309–311; von Hagen 1966, p. 155 and map p. 105; Chevallier 1976, pp. 39, 137, 160, 167; Wiseman 1970, pp. 137–138; Cary 1949, pp. 252–254; Charlesworth 1961, pp. 155–156, 180–183; Bullock Hall 1974, pp. 96–100, 166; Drinkwater 1983, p. 6 and maps pp. 238–239; Rivet 1988, pp. 8–9, 43–44, 141–142, 149–156; Ebel 1976, pp. 62–63; Proctor 1971, pp. 36, 83, 89, 92, 94, 117, 119; see also Kiepert 1800, tabula XI; Grant 1994, map 58; Talbert 2000, maps 15, 25. For the association of Heracles see, in addition, Benoit 1965, pp. 93–99; Barruol 1969, pp. 62–64.

Pompey), indicate that this was the way to reach Italy from either the North or the West, unless the traveller preferred to take the sea-route from Narbonensis.[168]

The pass across the Alps was the feather in the cap of anyone who journeyed from Iberia to Italy. Strabo elaborates on the various passes across these mountains, using Polybius as his source. Four passes were in use: one in the Alps lying close to the sea (*Alpes Maritimae*); another in the Cottian Alps (*Alpes Cottiae*), named after a Ligurian king; and two in the land of the Salassi, running through *Mons Graius* and *Summus Poeninus*, now the Little and the Great St. Bernard respectively.[169] As Rome began to intervene in the region, the roads through the Alps were improved. Distinguished Romans engaged themselves in reconstructing old paths and paving new ones. Pompey, as noted previously, wrote to the senate that he had opened up a route, more convenient and different from that taken by Hannibal, while Caesar sent Servius Galba to the Alps with a legion in order to make the trip through the passage of the *Summus Poeninus* (Great St. Bernard) safe and free of tolls.[170]

The undertaking was continued by Augustus. After a long period of wars (c. 25–7 BCE), the Alpine tribes were overpowered by the Romans. The *princeps* was especially proud of this achievement, to judge from his own reference to it in his *Res Gestae* and from two other inscriptions specifying the names of the conquered peoples.[171] Having established the peace, Augustus initiated the improvement of the passes across the Alps, attempting to secure the lives of those travelling through them. Strabo attests to that, saying that Augustus, in addition to his successful

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[168] Polyb., III.39.9–10. Use of the path: Polyb., III.48.12; cf. Strabo, IV.6.10, 6.12 C 207–209 (Polybius); Sall. *Hist.*, II.98 (Pompey).

[169] Strabo, IV.6.7 C 205, 6.11–12 C 208–209; cf. Liv., XXI.38.6–9; Plin., *NH*, III.123; Amm. Marc., XV.10.3–11. The ancients had difficulty in defining the boundaries of the long range of the Alps. They said that it stretched from the Mediterranean Sea (perhaps from Massilia) (Polyb., II.14.6; Strabo, IV.6.1 C 201–202; Cic., *Fam.*, XI.13.2) to Illyria (Plin., *NH*, III.147) or even to Thrace (Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, II.73), reaches the River Ister (Strabo, IV.6.9 C 207) and Germany (Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, II.73). See Christie 1991, p. 411; Toynbee 1965, vol. 2, p. 282. It was the Romans who divided the mountain range into sections, giving each a name which is still in use. For the ancients' use of this division, see e.g. Tac., *Hist.*, IV.68; Amm. Marc., XV.5.29, 10.3, 10.9, 11.16, XXI.10.4. For the modern use, see Clark 1973, pp. 25–41 and map pp. 22–23; Shoumatoff 2001, maps pp. 10–14.

[170] Sall. *Hist.*, II.98; Caes., *BGall.*, III.1.

[171] *Mon. Anc.*, 26.3; cf. Vell. Pat., II.90.1. Inscription of Nicaea: *CIL*, V.7817, cited also by Pliny (*NH*, III.136–137); inscription of Augusta Praetoria: *ILS*, 6753. See also Ehrenberg, Jones 1955, no. 40 p. 62, no. 338 p. 154.

operation against the bandits, built up the roads as much as he could. The work of Cottius, the Ligurian king, who became a friend of Augustus and took care of the paths in the part of the Alps bearing his name, illustrates Augustus' enterprise.[172]

The vital position of the passes across the Alps in the road system becomes clearer as one examines the purposes of the peoples and the individuals who made use of them. Nomads are the first of the three main groups; the Gauls, in their famous invasion of Italy, provide a good example. The second group consists of merchants, as attested to by Caesar in a passage already cited; explaining his reason for sending Servius Galba to open up a route through the Alps, Caesar explicitly mentions the traders as those who would benefit from this operation. Armies and generals are included in the third group; the list of the celebrated generals contains the names of the Carthaginians Hannibal and Hasrubal, as well as the Romans, M. Fulvius Flaccus, the consul of 125 BCE, who is said to have been the first to cross the Alps after Hannibal, Pompey and Caesar.[173]

Interestingly, Heracles can be added to this list. Diodorus is not the only author who combines myth with history. Heracles is considered both the first who crossed the Alps as well as a pioneer in reconstructing the roads which run through the mountains. Ammianus Marcellinus, for instance, claims that the first road through the Alps was paved by Heracles while on his campaign against Geryon and Tauriscus. In Diodorus' account the hero plays a part very similar to that of Caesar. Heracles made a convenient path out of a rough and impassable road; as a consequence, it can be traversed by both soldiers and beasts of burden. He also subdued the inhabitants of the region who used to slaughter and to plunder those who passed through the mountains, and thus made the

[172] Strabo, IV.6.6 C 204; Amm. Marc., XV.10.2–8. For the passes of the Alps before the Augustan era and during it see, for example, Chevallier 1976, pp. 137, 165–170; von Hagen 1966, pp. 102–104; Charlesworth 1961, pp. 170–172; Cary 1949, pp. 248, 254–256; Toynbee 1965, vol. 2, pp. 262–263; Rivet 1988, pp. 8–9; Drinkwater 1983, pp. 125–126; Christie 1991, pp. 411–412. For the continuous importance of these passes, see McCormick 2001, pp. 77–78, 476–481.

[173] Nomads: Liv., V.34.8. Merchants: Caes., *BGall.*, III.1. Armies: Polyb., III.50.1–56.2; Liv., XXI.32.6–37.5; Diod., XXV.19.1; Plin., *NH*, III.123; Amm. Marc., XV.10.10–11; Sil., *Pun.*, 477–478, 500–520 (Hannibal); Liv., XXVII.39.4–10, XXVIII.1.1; Diod., XXV.19.1; Florus, I.22.6.50; Sil., *Pun.*, 504–506 (Hasrubal); Liv., *Per.*, LX; Florus, I.37.2.3; Amm. Marc., XV.10.2–8 (Flaccus); Sall. *Hist.*, II.98 (Pompey); Caes., *BGall.*, I.10, III.1 (Caesar); additional examples are found in Tac., *Hist.*, I.70, II.66, IV.68. For Flaccus, see also Degrassi 1954, p. 105.

journey safe. Caesar, according to his own words, wished to make the journey through the passage of the Alps safe and free of tolls for traders. Pliny compares Heracles with another historical figure, that of Hannibal. He maintains that whereas the Carthaginians crossed the Alps by the Pennine pass (Great St. Bernard), Heracles made his way through the Graian pass (Little St. Bernard). Furthermore, attempting to explain the origin of the name of the Lepontii who dwelled nearby, Pliny states that the Greeks believed that the Lepontii were the descendants of Heracles' companions that were "left behind"; hence their name stemmed from the Greek verb λείπειν. Livy doubts Heracles' originality, since he is sceptic about the authenticity of the narrative. He argues that the Gauls were the first to cross the Alps two hundred years before their capture of Rome. The Alps, he adds, strewed obstacles in the Gauls' path, for until then there was no road which led across them, unless one wishes to believe the tales about Heracles. Justin, on the other hand, asserts that the Gauls were the first after Heracles to cross the impassable Alps.[174]

To resume the discussion of the route taken by Heracles, it seems that he crossed the Alps through one of the passes in the land of the Salassi, namely the Little or Great St. Bernard. Two points reinforce this deduction. The first, the information given by Diodorus regarding the previous place that the hero had visited, which is Alesia; the second, the impression one gets from reading Diodorus' description that Heracles took the fastest way from Alesia to Italy. Thus the possibility that Diodorus

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174 Amm. Marc. XV.10.9; Diod., IV.19.3–4; Caes., *BGall.*, III.1; Plin., *NH*, III.123, 134; Liv., V.33.5–6, 34.6 (with Ogilvie 1965, pp. 710–711); Iust., XXIV.4.4; cf. Sil., *Pun.*, III.496, 513–514, XV.505–506; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I.41.3; Petron., *Sat.*, 122. The Alps could also be an example of sites which are geographical landmarks discussed previously. They marked the border of several lands (Gaul, Liguria, Italy and Germania) (Polyb., II.14.7; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, 1.10.1; Strabo, II.5.28 C 128, V.1.3 C 210–211; Dio, LIV.22.1; Amm. Marc. XV.10.1; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, II.58, III.25; Ptol., *Geog.*, III.1.1), and were even considered as a natural wall which defended Italy in the North (Cic., *Prov. Cons.*, XIV.34; Liv., V.34.6). One might recall the statement of Pompey in his letter to the senate according to which an arrival of an enemy at the Alps means reaching "the throat of Italy" (Sall., *Hist.*, II.98). Compared with mountains such as the Olympus, the Rhodope and the Taurus, the Alps are the mightiest (Polyb. apud Strabo, IV.6.12 C 208–209; Sil., *Pun.*, III.494–495). The significance of the Alps as a topographical landmark is further underlined by writers who single out the pass across the Alps as the most important stage of Hannibal's expedition to Italy (Liv., XXI.38.1; Florus, I.22.6.22). Apparently this was true in later periods as well, as demonstrated, for instance, by a painting of Jacques-Louis David, which presents Napoleon Bonaparte crossing the Alps on his horse and the names of Hannibal, Charlemagne and Bonaparte himself are carved onto the rocks underneath. See e.g. Roberts 1989, pp. 142–147 and fig. 56; Johnson 1993, pp. 178–183 and pl. IV.

thought of the *Alpes Maritimae* or the *Alpes Cottiae* may be eliminated, for the use of these passes would have detained Heracles by taking him away in a south-westerly direction from his destination.

The route from Cisalpine Gaul to Etruria via Liguria was the final leg in Heracles' journey from Iberia to Italy. Again, the course taken by the hero corresponds with the real route: having passed through the Alps, Heracles probably came to the Po valley, crossed the river and arrived at the city of Dertona. Thence, advancing along *Via Aemilia Scauri*, he passed through Genua and reached Pisae or Volaterrae. From Volaterrae he continued his march through *Via Aurelia* arriving at the Palatine Hill.[175] Since Dertona is in Cisalpine Gaul, Genua is in Liguria and Pisae (or rather Volaterrae) is in Etruria, the route which I have proposed agrees with the stations mentioned by Diodorus along Heracles' way.

In conclusion, I would like to call attention to a remark of Strabo, according to which a road runs from Italy to Iberia which is called "the Further" and in particular to Baetica, and to a section in Pliny in which the author, detailing the dimensions from Rome to the Alps, from the Alps to the Pyrenees via Gaul and from the Pyrenees to the ocean and Gades, probably refers to one and the same route.[176] It is my opinion that, in describing the journey of Heracles from Gadeira to the Palatine Hill, Diodorus thought of a real road, the very one mentioned by both Strabo and Pliny.

Another example demonstrating Diodorus' custom of depicting actual highways and trade routes in his mythical accounts is the route taken

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[175] The route from the Alps to Dertona: Strabo, IV.6.7 C 205, 6.11 C 208; *It. Ant.*,288.3–6, 347.1–6, 351.1–4. *Via Aemilia Scauri*: Strabo, V.1.11 C 217; [Aur. Vict.], *De Vir. Ill.*, 72.8; *CIL*, XI.6664 = *ILS*, 5824; cf. *It. Ant.*, 292.6–294.6. *Via Aurelia*: *CIL*, XV, 676; *It. Ant.*, 289.3–6. It is not clear whether the road from Pisae to Volaterrae was part of *Via Aurelia* (which was possibly constructed c. 200 BCE) or *Via Aemilia Scauri* (119 BCE). For both roads see, for example, Toynbee 1965, vol. 2, pp. 654, 657, 660–661, 680–681; Chevallier 1976, pp. 134–135; von Hagen 1966, pp. 101–102; Ashby 1970, pp. 225–230; Paget 1973, pp. 109–137; Platner 1965, p. 561; Richardson 1992, p. 415. For the Roman road network, see Grant 1994, map 49; van der Heyden, Scullard 1963, p. 128; Hammond 1981b, maps 15, 16a; Talbert 2000, maps 39, 41, 42, 43; Laurence 1999, p. 4 fig. 1.2, p. 14 fig. 2.1; Chevallier 1976, maps pp. 133, 135; von Hagen 1966, map p. 96. See also the discussion of Brodersen 1995, passim. As for Heracles' route in Italy, Diodorus may have been inspired by other famous journeys, such as the invasion of the Gauls in 390 BCE (Diod., XIV.113.1–115.6; Liv., V.33.1–43.5; Plut., *Cam.*, 16–22; cf. Polyb., II.18.1–3) or that of Hannibal (e.g. Polyb., III.65.1–90.14; Liv., XXI.39.5-XXII.13.11). In this case, the course taken by Heracles would have been different, yet it would have been real and corresponds partly with the Roman road system.

[176] Strabo, III.4.9 C 160; Plin., *NH*, II.244.

by Semiramis from Babylon to Ecbatana. Setting out from Babylon, the Assyrian queen made her way to the capital of Media via Mount Bagistanus, the town of Chauon and the Zagros mountain range (II.13.1–6). Her ports of call indicate that she travelled along the main road to Ecbatana. All three appear in Isidore of Charax's description of the highway which runs from Seleucia to Ecbatana.[177] The different starting point—Seleucia according to Isidore, Babylon in Diodorus' version of Semiramis—may be a consequence of the decline of Babylon and the rise of Seleucia mentioned above.

The constant use of Semiramis' route proves its ascendancy. Xenophon mentions it in his *Anabasis* as one of the roads suggested to him and to his companions; Darius fled to Ecbatana after his defeat at Gaugamela. Yet Alexander furnishes the best example, for it is said that on his march from Babylon to Ecbatana he diverged from the main road to take a tour in the region of the Bagistanus. Alexander probably made his way back to Babylon along this same path, as he came across the Cossaeans, who dwelled in the Zagros.[178]

The records of modern explorers confirm the importance of the route followed by Semiramis. In the nineteenth century Rawlinson and Buckingham travelled, each one separately, to Ecbatana, visiting Zagros, Bagistanus and Chauon (Concobar) on their way. In the early twentieth century, Williams Jackson also published his memoirs of his stay in Ecbatana and Bagistanus. They refer to the nature of the roads, the commemorative inscriptions found in Bagistanus, and the exceptional location of Chauon, which was built on a plain surrounded by hills, about 32 miles from Bagistanus, on the road to Ecbatana.[179]

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[177] *Parth.*, 2–6. Bagistanus is a cliff, on top of which lies a town of the same name (Steph. Byz., s.v. Βαγίστανα; Isidor. Char., *Parth.*, 5); for its description, see Diod., XVII.110.5; Curt., X.4.3. Concobar is the name used by Isidore for the town of Chauon. See Schoff 1989, p. 28. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Χαύων), quoting Ctesias, notes that Semiramis passed through Chauon, a town in Media. The Zagros mountain range, entitled "Median Gate", Μηδικὴ πύλη (Strabo, XI.13.8 C 525, cf. XVI.1.18 C 744; Ptol. *Geog.* VI.2.7), was regarded as Media's border with Persia and Babylonia (Polyb., V.44.6–7; Strabo, XI.12.4 C 522, 13.6 C 524; and also Harrison 1942, pp. 116–117). See my discussion in Sulimani 2005, pp. 51–52.

[178] Xen., *Anab.*, III.5.15. Darius: Arr., III.16.2; cf. Diod., XVII.64.1; Curt., V.1.9. Alexander: Diod., XVII.110.5–6; cf. Curt., X.4.3. His way back: Diod., XVII.115.5–112.1; Curt., X.4.3; Arr., VII.15.1–4; cf. Plut., *Alex.*, 72.1, 73.1. For the route chosen by Alexander and his difficulties along the way, see Engels 1978, pp. 73–80.

[179] Sezgin 1997, pp. 1–158; Buckingham 1971, pp. 54–75, 135–167; Williams Jackson 1906, pp. 144–244.

Straits and passages which were in frequent use in antiquity are also found in the journeys of Diodorus' heroes. The Hellespont appears in the itineraries of both Osiris and Dionysus. Diodorus says that Osiris, having completed his tour of Asia, crossed into Europe at the Hellespont and came to Thrace (I.20.1–2) whereas Dionysus, preparing to cross from Asia into Europe, concluded a treaty of friendship with Lycurgus, king of part of Thrace which lies upon the Hellespont, but was betrayed by him. Eventually, with the aid of another man, native to that place, Dionysus managed to lead his army through the Hellespont into Thrace (III.65.4–6). Both heroes made their way through the common route from Asia to Europe and back.

The numerous examples of the use made of the straits in antiquity indicate that it was constantly traversed both for military and commercial purposes. The Persians crossed the Hellespont in their invasions of Europe: in about 515 BCE it was Darius who passed through the straits upon his return from Thrace, in 492 BCE it was Mardonius, his son-in-low, who advanced as far as Macedon, and in 480 BCE we read of Xerxes, making his way to Greece.[180] Alexander the Great crossed the Hellespont into Asia in 334 BCE. Antiochus III used the straits in 192 BCE, intending to reach Greece, while the Romans, some two years later, passed through it in their pursuit of the Seleucid king. Roman armies crossed the Hellespont again in the first century BCE to meet Mithridates of Pontus in the battle field.[181] Yet the strategic significance of the Hellespont is best demonstrated by Themistocles' suggestion to destroy the bridges which were built over it in order to disrupt Xerxes' way back to Asia, and by the firm opposition to this plan for fear that the king would remain in Greece to conquer and exploit her lands.[182]

The importance of the Hellespont as a trade route may be inferred from both Polybius and Strabo. Comparing the Hellespont to the Pillars of Heracles, Polybius states that no one could sail from the Atlantic Ocean into the Mediterranean Sea except by passing through the Pillars, just as it was impossible to reach the Black Sea and the Propontis from the Mediterranean Sea except by sailing through the passage between Sestus

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[180] Hdt., IV.143, V.11, VI.43, VII.33–37, 54–56; Diod., XI.2.4, 3.6, cf. II.5.5.

[181] Alexander: Diod., XVII.17.1; Arr., I.11.6, 12.6, 13.6; Plut., *Alex.*, XV.3, XVI.2; Curt., III.1.19. Antiochus: Liv., XXXV.23.10. Romans against Antiochus: Liv., XXXVII.33.6–7; Appian., *Mac.*, IX.5, *Syr.*, 23; against Mithridates: e.g. Plut., *Sulla*, 23; Diod., XXXVIII/XXXIX.8.2.

[182] Hdt., VIII.108.

and Abydus.[183] Sestus in Thrace and Abydus in Asia Minor flourished as trade centres, and so did several other cities, such as Lampsacus, Cyzicus and Byzantium, which were situated on both sides of the Propontis.[184] The efforts of Philip V of Macedon to gain control over cities lying along both sides of the Propontis are a further indication of the essential commercial function of the Hellespont. For this king wished to edge the Romans out of the region and to get a stronghold of strategic points which would enable him to march into Asia at time of need; at the same time, he intended to spoil the corn supply of Athens, to obstruct the Rhodian trade and to benefit from the merchandise conveyed through the straits.[185] Another dispute, that of Eumenes II of Pergamum and Pharnaces of Pontus which occurred in 183–179 BCE, also confirms the significance of the Hellespont as a trade route. Intervening in this quarrel because of the fear that their own commercial activities would suffer, the Rhodians prevented Eumenes' plan to blockade the straits.[186]

The vital role of the Hellespont for travelling from Europe into Asia and back may be further attested to by the works of authors who, like Diodorus, describe various journeys in detail. The Greek mercenaries of Xenophon's *Anabasis* returned to Europe by way of the Bosporus, yet one gets the impression that they were forced to prefer it over the Hellespont due to the pressure of the peoples of Asia Minor, urging them to leave their lands as soon as possible. Apollonius Rhodius, depicting a different sort of voyage (for it was for the most part a sea voyage), mentions the Hellespont as well as the city of Abydus. The Argonauts directed their course to Abydus; thence, having sailed past several other sites, they passed through the Hellespont and, sailing along the southern coast of the Propontis, they came into the Black Sea through the Bosporus.[187]

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183 Polyb., XVI.29.3–14; cf. Strabo, II.5.22 C 124.

184 Strabo, XII.8.11 C 575, XIII.1.18 C 589, 1.22 C 590–591; cf Polyb., IV.38. See Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, pp. 556, 585–602.

185 Polyb., XV.21.1–22.10, XVI.29.1–2, 30.1–32.6, XVIII.2.4, 3.11; Liv., XXXI.16.2–17.11. For Rhodes' commercial interests in the area, see also Polyb., IV.47.1–2; Walbank 1967a, vol. 2, pp. 538–539. Athens and Rhodes, together with Pergamum, appealed to Rome against Philip (Liv., XXXI.2.1; App., *Mac.*, IV.2). For Athens' dependence of the Hellespont and its surroundings for corn supply, see Dem., XX.3.1; Isoc., *Trapeziticus*, 57; and Amit 1965, pp. 126, 128–129. For the activities of Philip V, see also Walbank 1967b, pp. 108–137.

186 Polyb., XXVII.7.5; Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 3, pp. 1512–1513 n. 38, cf. vol. 1, pp. 229–230.

187 Xen., *Anab.*, VII.1.1–7; Apoll. Rhod., I.931–935, II.168.

Perhaps less vital than the Hellespont, nevertheless, the straits between Italy and Sicily, now called the Straits of Messina, were certainly important as far as military affairs and corn supply were concerned. Diodorus says that reaching the strait (ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν) where the sea is at its narrowest point, Heracles carried the cattle over to Sicily, while he himself swam across the passage, a distance of thirteen stadia, holding the horn of a bull (IV.22.6). Although Diodorus does not offer any information regarding the point from which Heracles set out for Sicily, the details given suggest that even if the hero did not use the most frequently-used passage, he certainly used a familiar one. First, he traversed the sea where it is the narrowest; secondly, Diodorus mentions Cape Pelorias as the first place in which the hero arrived (IV.23.1). An examination of a map reveals that he possibly passed the straits from Cape Caenys on the Italian side to Cape Pelorias on the Sicilian side.[188] According to Strabo, these two capes form the narrow point of the straits, τὰ στενὰ τοῦ Πορθμοῦ. Elsewhere the geographer says that Pelorias forms the straits together with Caenys and Columna Rheginorum.[189] It seems that the latter site, situated a hundred stadia north of the city of Rhegium, and the city of Messene, lying in the gulf of Pelorias about one hundred stadia from the cape and with an excellent harbour,[190] were the favourable points to pass from one land to the other. This may be inferred from Strabo, who maintains that the distance between Rhegium and Messene is sixty stadia and much less between Columna Rheginorum and Messene, and also from Pliny, who refers in the same sentence to both intervals: between Columna Rheginorum and Messene, and between Cape Caenys and Cape Pelorias. Pliny, however, is probably mistaken in asserting that a distance of one and a half Roman miles exists between Caenys and Pelorias as well as between Columna Rheginorum and Pelorias.[191]

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[188] The sources offer various measurements regarding the breadth of the straits: according to Thucydides, who does not mention any particular site, there were twenty stadia between Italy and Sicily (VI.1.2), while Timaeus argues for thirteen stadia (Diod., IV.22.6); Polybius says twelve stadia between Pelorias and Italy (I.42.5); and Strabo maintains that the breadth of the passage is a little more than six stadia at its narrowest point, but does not name the sites from which this distance was measured (VI.1.5 C 257). Pliny is the only author who gives specific sites, claiming that one and a half Roman miles exist between Caenys and Pelorias as well as between Columna Rheginorum and Pelorias (Plin., *NH*, III.73, 86).

[189] Strabo, VI.1.5 C 257, 2.1 C 265.

[190] Diod., IV.85.1, XIV.56.1–2.

[191] Strabo, VI.2.3 C 268; Plin., *NH*, III.71, 73, 86. For the straits in antiquity see, for example, Freeman n.d., vol. 1, pp. 57–58; Finley 1979, pp. 3, 17; Dunbabin 1948, pp. 195–

The instances of leaders and armies who endeavoured to control the straits are evidence of their strategic significance. At the same time, since the main goal of those operating in the straits was to conquer Rhegium and Messene, one may assume that the passage frequently used was between Columna Rheginorum and Messene. During the Peloponnesian War the Syracusans, who had the power over Messene, strived to bring under their sway Rhegium as well in order to prevent the Athenians from gaining control of the straits. Later, Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, crossed the straits and attacked Rhegium, because this city was the bastion of Italy (τὸ προπολεμητήριον … τῆς Ἰταλίας), while some years earlier the Rhegians had taken the field againt the tyrant and, as they managed to cross the straits, attempted to persuade the Messenians to join the war.[192] In other examples the authors note the specific points of crossing. Scipio Africanus used the straits several times during the Hannibalic war, always arriving at or leaving Messene. Octavian, in his efforts to defeat Sextus Pompey, crossed the straits from Leucopetra to Tauromenium, for he could not put in at Messene which was under Pompey's control.[193]

Heracles, then, did not pass from Italy to Sicily through the usual points, yet it was not so unusual nor an invention of Diodorus. Like Octavian, Heracles had little choice. He had to swim all the way to the island thus, if Diodorus had thought in realistic terms (and I believe that he did), Heracles had to take the shortest possible way. Furthermore, as can be inferred both from Strabo and Pliny, the passage between Cape Caenys and Cape Pelorias was surely a familiar one.

The war against Sextus Pompey may also demonstrate the importance of the straits for the corn supply of Rome. Suffering from barren fields and poor harvests, the Romans looked for grain abroad. Sicily was one of their essential sources. Three occurrences, dating from Diodorus' time, illustrate this well. Pompey the Great, who had been appointed supervisor of the corn supply both in Italy and overseas (57 BCE), sailed off to Sicily, Sardinia and Africa to collect the grain himself. Caesar sent his warships to guard Sicily and Sardinia, using merchant ships to pursue Pompey in Greece.[194] Yet the significance of Sicily is especially manifested

196, 206–207. Compare with modern times: Randall-MacIver 1970, pp. 78–80; King 1973, pp. 84–86.

[192] Thuc., IV.24.4; Diod., XIV.40.3–7, 100.1–2.

[193] Scipio: Liv., XXIX.7.2, 8.5, 9.8. Octavian: App., *BCiv.*, V.109; cf. Strabo, VI.2.3 C 268; Liv., *Per.*, 123.

[194] Pompey: Cic., *Att.*, IV.1; Liv., *Epit.*, 104; Plut., *Pomp.*, 49–50; Dio, XXXIX.9.3. Caesar: App., *BCiv.*, II.54.

in the pressure put upon Octavian and Antony by the Roman people to come to terms with Sextus, fearing that the latter's control of the island might cause not only an additional increase of the price of grain, but a severe famine as well. The so-called "treaty of Misenum" followed.[195] Given the role of Sicily as the granary of Rome, the straits leading to Italy undeniably provided a valuable route.

The above selection of sites and roads through which the gods and heroes passed demonstrates that Diodorus' descriptions are, for the most part, realistic. Due to the accurate geographical details, the journeys of the first five books might be classified as written itineraries, which were frequently used throughout antiquity instead of graphic maps.[196] This hypothesis is supported *inter alia* by the mention of conspicuous landmarks along the routes of Diodorus' heroes; topographical depictions of sites (such as the Bagistanus Mountain which has sheer cliffs, rising to the height of seventeen stadia, on the side facing the park, II.13.2); detailed descriptions of regions, including reference to sites which were not visited by the heroes but were close by (such as the Phlegraean plain), as well as indications of all four edges of the inhabited world. One may argue, with much justification, I might add, that Diodorus' descriptions are not "written maps" since the author does not specify the distance from one place to the other. He does not measure, for example, the way taken by Osiris from Egypt to Ethiopia in marches of so many days or hours.[197] However, since he probably did not plan to give a practical instrument into the hands of travellers and merchants but, rather, as I have pointed out at the outset of this chapter, to produce a geographical introduction to his work, which would add credibility and vitality, his journeys may be considered a sort of "literary maps". Given that, one might well include Diodorus in the list of the historians who wrote geography as well. Despite his unique way of introducing geography into his universal

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[195] Vell. Pat., II.77.1; Suet., *Aug.*, 16.1; App., *BCiv.*, V.18, 66–69, 71–72. See Rickman 1980, pp. 55–61.

[196] See Crone 1968, p. 13; for a discussion of cartography in the ancient world, see pp. 17–29 and also Dilke 1985, passim; Bagrow 1985, pp. 31–38; Harley, Woodward 1987, vol. 1, pp. 105–279; Brodersen 1995, passim. The introduction of Tooley, Bricker, Crone 1969, pp. 9–42 may also be of use.

[197] For the importance of measurements and distances in drawing maps, see Strabo, I.4.1–9 C 62–67, discussing Eratosthenes' treatise (for the latter, see recently Geus 2004, pp. 11–26). The other paramount element of maps, direction, is not crucial in the case of "written maps". See e.g. Crone 1968, p. 13.

history (which, as I have suggested, might be the result of an attempt to avoid criticism of his geographical skills), Diodorus is worthy of a place in the pantheon of historians such as Herodotus and Polybius.[198]

Yet the journeys of the gods and heroes are also valuable from a historical point of view. By leading his mythical figures to sites in which some of the significant events of the first century BCE occurred, Diodorus either adds information or confirms details known to us, as, for instance, in the case of the Phlegraean plain, or in that of Babylon, for which Diodorus' tale of Semiramis hints that the city did not decay altogether in the Hellenistic era. In this respect, I may discuss Diodorus' frequent references to the Greek colonies, which might help to draw a map of some of the most important settlements, but this subject lies beyond the scope of the present chapter. Finally, Diodorus provides valuable information concerning the preferred routes of travel throughout antiquity. In light of the above two aspects, namely the geographical and the historical, the journeys of Diodorus' heroes could be regarded as a guide for tourists if not as a written map *per se*.

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[198] See Dilke 1985, pp. 55–61; cf. Merrills 2005, pp. 1–2; Engels 2007, pp. 546–550. For the geography of Diodorus, see also Ambaglio 1995, pp. 59–72.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PAGAN MISSION: MYTHICAL HEROES IN THE SERVICE OF MANKIND

Describing Osiris' journey, Diodorus remarks that the Egyptian god left monuments everywhere to commemorate his expedition (I.20.1). Similarly, Sesostris set up his inscribed stones in many parts of the lands which he had conquered (I.55.7), whereas Semiramis, smoothing off the lower part of sheer cliffs of the Bagistanus Mountain, engraved thereon an image of herself in the company of a hundred spearmen and an inscription (II.13.2). Dionysus erected an enormous mound over a wild beast which he had killed in Libya, wishing to leave an eternal memorial of his own valour (III.72.3); he also left not a few monuments along the boundaries of his campaign (III.74.2). Heracles, too, upon his arrival at the ocean near Gadeira, set up pillars commemorating his expedition on each of the continents (IV.18.2, 18.4) and in the plain of Leontini he left everlasting memorials of his presence (IV.24.1). Thus Diodorus' heroes left their marks in places which they had visited. Yet their marks went beyond the monuments which they had left behind them. It is mainly their deeds in the lands which they invaded and their actions for (and occasionally against) the population in these lands that were a sign of their presence.

The tasks which the heroes carried out during their journeys embraced, as noted at the outset of the previous chapter, almost every aspect of life. Most of them contributed to agriculture; they introduced new plants which people were able to consume, improved cultivation techniques and found ways to irrigate the lands or to prevent flooding. They also founded cities, built new roads and restored old ones, were engaged in construction work, cleared lands infested with wild beasts and invented contests and performances for the entertainment of mankind. Furthermore, Diodorus' heroes initiated religious practices, such as erecting temples and establishing cults; they also intervened politically, enacting laws and replacing rulers.[1] To deal with all these

[1] I follow the categorization of Mendels 1996, pp. 442–448; see my remarks in the Introduction, p. 8

missions will require too long a discussion. Hence I suggest concentrating on a selection of the more notable tasks, such as those which were accomplished by more than one hero and which, on the whole, recur throughout the six tales examined in the present study.

The Cultural Mission

Agriculture

Wheat, Barley and Vine

With the exception of Myrina, all the heroes were involved, directly or indirectly, in the development of agriculture. The most significant contribution was made by Osiris and Dionysus. The Egyptian god persuaded mankind to give up cannibalism. According to Diodorus, all men changed their food gladly, after Isis had discovered the fruit both of wheat and barley and Osiris had invented the cultivation of these cereal crops. They were willing to do so due to the delightful nature of the new grains and the anticipated advantage of refraining from eating one another (I.14.1). In the course of his description of Osiris' journey, Diodorus mentions the peoples to whom the god had introduced his innovations. In Ethiopia he taught men things regarding agriculture (διδάξαντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν, I.18.6); in Thrace he left Maron as a supervisor of the crops which were cultivated in that land (ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ φυτευομένων, I.20.2); and in Attica he entrusted Triptolemus with the agriculture (ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν γεωργίας, I.20.3). Diodorus remarks that Osiris was not warlike, nor did he arrange battles or dangerous operations, since all peoples received him as a god because of his good deeds (I.18.5). In Thrace, however, he killed Lycurgus, the king of the barbarians, who resisted his actions (I.20.2).[2] In conclusion, Diodorus says that, having visited the entire inhabited world, Osiris conferred benefits upon people's lives by introducing the most cultivated fruits (τοῖς ἡμερωτάτοις καρποῖς, I.20.3).

Similar statements may be found in the tale of Dionysus. In the version based on Scytobrachion, Diodorus argues that while traversing the inhabited world, this god cultivated the land with plants (ἐξημεροῦντα μὲν τὴν χώραν ταῖς φυτείαις) and conferred eternal benefits upon the

[2] The heroes' dealings with the recipients of their mission and Diodorus' use of the term "barbarians" will be treated in the following chapter.

people with great and valuable gifts (III.73.6, 74.2). According to another version, Dionysus contributed to the technological aspect of agriculture. He was the first who yoked an ox to a plough (πρῶτον βοῦς ὑπ ἄροτρον ζεῦξαι) for until then human beings had tilled the ground by hand. He also skilfully invented many other things useful for agriculture (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φιλοτέχνως ἐπινοῆσαι τῶν πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν χρησίμων) and by which the masses were relieved of great suffering (III.64.1, IV.4.2). Apparently, Osiris was also involved in the technological improvements. In his description of animals sacred to the Egyptians, Diodorus refers to the bull (employing ταῦρος this time, and not βοῦς) whom they worshipped as a god, as Osiris instructed, both because of the use made of this animal in agriculture and because its labours passed on the fame of those who discovered the grains (I.88.4).

The similarity between the deeds of Osiris and those of Dionysus should not come as a surprise. Diodorus knew that these gods were related. He records an Egyptian notion, according to which the god to whom the Egyptians had given the name Osiris is called Dionysus by the Greeks (IV.1.6). Moreover, a comparison of the journeys of both gods reveals that the routes along which they travelled and the sites which they visited are almost identical. Osiris is traditionally associated with various kinds of grain.[3] Dionysus, on the other hand, is associated with barley but not with wheat. Apart from barley, the plants with which this god is connected are the vine, which will be dealt with below, ivy and myrtle.[4] Ivy is also mentioned with regard to Osiris. Diodorus states that, according to the Egyptians, ivy is sacred to Osiris who discovered it and, in the same manner, the Greeks attribute it to Dionysus (I.17.4).[5] Adding that Osiris planted the ivy in the city of Nysa which he had founded in India, he stresses that in his own days it grows only in this region (I.19.7).

Ascribing the wheat or the ivy to Osiris and Dionysus is neither original nor unique. However, the distribution of these plants throughout the world by these gods seems to be Diodorus' own idea. This assumption gains support from the absence of a similar description in the work of Tibullus, Diodorus' contemporary, who merely points out that Osiris

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[3] As attested to by the earliest Egyptian sources which refer to this god. For these sources, see Blackman 1938, pp. 1–3; Frankfort 1948, pp. 185–190; Breasted 1959, pp. 22–24; Frazer 1963, part IV, vol. 2, esp. pp. 96–107; Griffiths 1980, pp. 158–170.

[4] Of these two, ivy is more frequently mentioned. See, for example, *Schol. Ar.*, *Ran.*, 330; *Hymn. Hom.*, XXVI.1; Ov., *Fast.*, III.767–769; Strabo, XV.1.58 C 711; Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 37 (*Mor.*, 365e); Plin., *NH*, XVI.144; Paus., I.31.6 and also Otto 1965, pp. 152–159.

[5] Cf. Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 37 (*Mor.*, 365e) and see Frazer 1963, part IV, vol. 2, p. 112.

collected fruit from unknown trees whereas Plutarch, living in a later period, echoes the idea maintaining that after instructing the Egyptians to eat fruit, Osiris had given them laws and taught them to honour the gods; he then travelled over the world performing similar acts.[6] Diodorus might have been inspired by the events of his own days. As a matter of fact, attempts to acclimatize plants in places where they did not naturally grow, or to transfer animals from one land to another, had been already made in the classical age. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, for instance, in his efforts to enrich his country, had imported sheep from Miletus and Attica, swine from Sicily and other special animals from many cities. Later, another tyrant, Dionysius of Syracuse, brought plane trees to Rhegium in Italy, where they had never grown before, in order to decorate his house, but the trees were not able to grow to their full size.[7] Following the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greeks became acquainted with an abundance of new plants and animals and, concomitantly, with lands in which plants, familiar to them, did not exist. As a consequence, interesting attempts to acclimatize a selection of species were made, with the encouragement of the Hellenistic kings and other rulers of the time. The Ptolemies, for example, introduced frankincense trees and ladanum into Egypt, while the Seleucids wished to transplant the frankincense as well and tried, in vain, to import delicate perfumed plants from India. Mithridates, king of Pontus, also failed in his efforts to cultivate the laurel and the myrtle in Panticapaeum for ritual purposes.[8]

Favourably, it is wheat and ivy which provide good examples. The Ptolemies, as part of their efforts to develop and refurbish agriculture, incessantly endeavoured to improve the quality of the grain, an enterprise for which they imported a variety of wheat seeds. Letters sent by Apollonius, the *dioicetes* in Ptolemy Philadelphus' administration, confirm that Syria was one of the countries where new seeds were purchased.[9] Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, had made every effort to grow ivy in Babylon but failed. He acted according to the king's instructions, order-

[6] Tib., I.7.32 (*pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus*); Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 13 (*Mor.*, 356a–b).

[7] Polycrates: Athen., XII.540c–d; Dionysius: Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, IV.5.6; Plin., *NH*, XII.7.

[8] The Ptolemies: Plin., *NH*, XII.56, 76; the Seleucids: Plin., *NH*, XII.57, XVI.135; Mithridates: Plin., *NH*, XVI.137; Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, IV.5.3. For a discussion and for further examples, see Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 2, pp. 1162–1168, 1189; Heichelheim 1956, pp. 332–333.

[9] For the papyri, see Rostovtzeff 1967, pp. 24–27 and consult Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 2, pp. 359–360, 1164.

ing him to transplant trees brought from Greece into the gardens of the city. Some of these, however, did strike roots.[10]

We need not linger over the advantages of wheat, the essential food of mankind, which has been used even for medicinal purposes and regarded as a cure for intestinal diseases.[11] But what good did the ivy offer, which both Osiris and Alexander endeavoured to transplant? Excessive growth of this evergreen plant is injurious to all trees and other plants and also to tombs and walls.[12] Yet it had advantages: it was used to ignite fuel and to make a vessel by which the quality of wine could be tested: when a wine mixed with water was poured into a vessel made of ivy, the wine passed through it but the water remained within it. The ivy was also used to reduce the side effects of intoxication.[13] Another field in which ivy was in demand was religion, the cult of Dionysus to be precise, an occasion in which it served as a decoration. It is said that Alexander, returning victorious from India, wreathed his forehead with ivy according to the example set by *Liber Pater*.[14]

Like the leading men of the Hellenistic era, Osiris and Dionysus distributed around the world plants which were beneficial to mankind. The resemblance between the mythological and the historical figures may also be seen in the appointment of supervisors to oversee the agriculture. As noted, Osiris left Maron in Thrace as a supervisor (ἐπιμελητής) of the plants (I.20.2), while in Attica he entrusted Triptolemus with the agriculture (I.20.3). In a similar manner, having instructed the Ethiopians in agriculture, he left there men to supervise the land (τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς χώρας) and to collect the tributes (I.18.6). Osiris' practice recalls the actions of the Ptolemies in Egypt, aiming to expand their control over the land and its production. Among the administrators of the several *nomoi* one may find the ἐπιμελητής, the chief representative of the

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[10] Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, IV.4.1, *Caus. Pl.*, II.3.3–4; Plin., *NH*, XVI.144; Plut., *Quaest. Conv.*, III.2.1 (*Mor.*, 648c).

[11] Plin., *NH*, XXVII.53; Darby, Chalioungui, Grivetti 1976, vol. 2, pp. 491–492 and passim for the other advantages and uses of wheat. See also Foxhall, Forbes 1982, pp. 41–90; Garnsey 1988, passim; Veyne 1990, esp. pp. 236–245; Garnsey 1999, pp. 17–21, 119–122 and the various articles in Wilkins, Harvey, Dobson 1995, pp. 7–100, 172–110.

[12] Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, I.9.4, IV.16.5, *Caus. Pl.*, V.15.4; Plin., *NH*, XVI.144, XVII.239.

[13] Use for fire: Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, V.3.4, 9.6–7; Plin., *NH*, XVI.207; testing wine: Cat., *Agr.*, 111; Plin., *NH*, XVI.155; intoxication: Plut., *Quaest. Conv.*, III.2.1 (*Mor.*, 648e–f). Compare to the application of ivy for medicinal purposes nowadays: Conway 1973, p. 119.

[14] Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, IV.4.1; Plin., *NH*, XVI.144.

financial administration in each *nomos*.[15] It is reasonable to believe that Diodorus' visit to Egypt had its impact on his writing. By no means does he refrain from his appreciation of the Egyptians' working techniques: in I.36.5 he states that every kind of crop-growing requires great expense and labour by other peoples; only the Egyptians gather in the harvest with minimal cost and effort.

Does Diodorus' description of the technological changes in the field of agriculture also reflect his time? Dionysus was, according to him, the first who yoked an ox to a plough and the discoverer of many practical things for agriculture. The use of animals to pull a plough is, of course, an early discovery. Hesiod depicts at some length the way in which the ox should be yoked and discusses the advantages of this method of ploughing. Comparing his account to that of Virgil, Diodorus' contemporary, reveals no striking changes in the structure of the plough nor in its function.[16] Nevertheless, certain modifications were made to this device, the most significant being the introduction of the iron plough-share to replace the wooden one. The iron share was employed throughout Italy during the first century BCE but evidence points to Ptolemaic Egypt as the place in which it was initiated.[17] Tibullus, who wrote in the second half of the first century BCE, combines, like Diodorus, myth and reality. He states that Osiris was the first who made ploughs and "stirred the delicate land with iron".[18]

Yet it seems that Diodorus refers to more than the improvement of the plough. In assigning to Dionysus many practical discoveries for agriculture he may have had other technological developments in mind. In the course of the Hellenistic era new machines were designed, while others were upgraded. Diodorus himself mentions one of these: a device, invented by Archimedes, called "a snail with a spiral shell" (κοχλίας) because of its shape (and "a screw" by modern scholars), by which the Egyptians could irrigate the vast area of the Delta (I.34.2). The same

[15] See e.g. Bevan 1968, pp. 131–157, esp. 143.

[16] Hes., *Op*., 427–438, 465–469; Verg., *G*., I.160–175.

[17] Varro, *Ling*., V.135; *P. Cairo Zeno*, 59782a ll. 36–37. On the plough, see also Varro, *Rust*., I.19.2; Cat., *Agr*., 135.2; Plin., *NH*, XVIII.171–173; Columella, *Rust*., II.2.23 and Gow 1914, pp. 249–275; Jope 1956, vol. 2, pp. 82–86; Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, pp. 362–363, vol. 2, pp. 1186, 1197; White 1967, pp. 123–145. Cf. the version of Varro (ap. August., *De Civ. D*., XVIII.6), according to which a man named Homogyrus first yoked oxen to the plough.

[18] *teneram ferro sollicitavit humum*, Tib., I.7.29–30.

device was used in the silver mines of Spain (V.37.3–4).[19] Pliny describes the press-beam which was used for pressing the grapes and alludes to an improvement made to it during Diodorus' days. He says that in earlier times the beams had been pulled down using ropes and leather strips and by levers, but within the last hundred years the Greeks had invented their press with the grooves of the upright beam run in a spiral (i.e. vertical screw). He adds that within the past twenty years the Romans had introduced further improvements to this press.[20] An epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica, written about 15 BCE, attests that the water-mill had been invented in the first century BCE. Its extensive use, however, did not take its form until a later period.[21] The above contrivances (and others) facilitated the work of the farmers, expanded the cultivated areas and increased the yield production. The benefits which Diodorus attributes to Dionysus may well be an echo of all these.[22]

Another task by which Osiris and Dionysus contributed to the development of agriculture involves the vine. Diodorus states that Osiris was the discoverer of the vine and the originator of the cultivation of its fruit. Being the first who used wine, he taught human beings both the planting of the vine (τήν τε φυτείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου) and the use of the wine (καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ οἴνου), as well as the harvest (τὴν συγκομιδήν) of the grapes and the preservation (τήρησιν) of the wine (I.15.8, cf. IV.1.7). If any country had not admitted the vine he instructed men to prepare a drink from barley (τὸ ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς … πόμα), which is slightly inferior to wine in aroma and in potency (I.20.4). The same deeds are ascribed to Dionysus: he discovered the vine and its cultivation and all the work concerning the wine (πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸν οἶνον πραγματείαν, III.63.1, cf. II.38.5, III.63.3, 70.8, V.75.4). Mentioning the fact that, when the wine had been discovered, the mixing of it with water had not yet been conceived, Diodorus underlines Dionysus' awareness of the adverse effects of unmixed wine on human behaviour; nevertheless, this god did not

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[19] See also Vitr., *De Arch.*, X.6.1–4; cf. Plut., *Marc.*, 17.3–4 and Rickard 1928, esp. pp. 130–131.

[20] Plin., *NH*, XVIII.317. For a discussion and drawings of the presses described by Pliny, see White 1975, pp. 230–232; White 1984, pp. 67–70, 184–185.

[21] For Antipater, see *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, no. 592; for a later use of the water-mill, see Strabo, XII.3.30 C 556; Vitr., *De Arch.*, X.5.1–2.

[22] For the devices mentioned here and for others developed in the Hellenistic era, see e.g. Heichelheim 1956, pp. 328–336; Forbes 1956a, pp. 112–118; Moritz 1958, esp. pp. 122–139; Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, pp. 359–367, vol. 2, p. 1224; Forbes 1963, vol. 1, pp. 65–67; Finley 1965, pp. 29–45; Forbes 1993, vol. 3, pp. 138–163; Keyser, Irby-Massie 2006, pp. 256–258.

wish to prevent men from drinking it, because of the pleasure which the beverage gave (IV.4.6–7). Like Osiris, Dionysus taught men how to store the wine, but also a variety of fruit (III.73.5, II.38.5). He discovered how to dry and to store ripe fruit so that people would be able to enjoy them over a long period (III.70.8, V.75.4). Again like Osiris, he instructed those whose lands were unsuited to the cultivation of the vine to prepare a drink from barley, called by some ζῦθος, which is a little inferior to wine in aroma (III.73.6, IV.2.5). Here, too, Diodorus touches upon the hero's dealings with the inhabitants of the countries in which he operated. Emphasizing that Dionysus travelled throughout the inhabited world and bestowed upon the peoples great gifts, he states that since good reports were everywhere spread about the hero, no one opposed him as an enemy; all eagerly yielded to him and honoured him as a god with praise and sacrifices. When Diodorus says "all" he means Greeks and barbarians; this becomes clear from his statement that there was complete agreement that Dionysus should gain immortality since there was no one among the Greeks or the barbarians who did not share in the gifts and favours of this god (III.73.5–6).

Dionysus' involvement with the vine and wine is age-old and well known as attested to in the works of authors such as Hesiod, Pindar, Euripides and Apollodorus.[23] The connection of Osiris to the same plant and its use is just as ancient for he is shown in various papyri with clusters of grapes and vine leaves at his side.[24] Among the "western authorities", so to speak, the idea may be found, in addition to Diodorus, in Tibullus and Plutarch.[25] However, none of Diodorus' predecessors mentions the spread of the vine being attributed to either Osiris or Dionysus during their travels in the world. The notion is also absent from Euripides, though he depicts the journey made by Dionysus whereas Apollodorus, who also describes the god's expedition, does not claim that the latter taught the peoples whose lands he visited to cultivate the vine or how to make wine. In fact, he opens the story with a statement that Dionysus discovered the vine, but adds that the god set out for his journey because he had been driven mad by Hera. Furthermore, Dionysus visited Egypt, Syria, India and other places, yet the vine is mentioned only once:

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[23] E.g. Hes., *Sc.*, 399–400; Pind., *Paean* IV.25–26, fr. 124a; Eur., *Bacch.*, 11–12, 278–279; Apollod., *Bibl.*, III.5.1.

[24] See e.g. Wallis Budge 1911, vol. 1, pp. 19, 38–39, 45; Breasted 1959, p. 19; Frazer 1963, part IV, vol. 2, pp. 111–112; Griffiths 1980, p. 163.

[25] Tib., I.7.33–38; Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 13 (*Mor.*, 356a–b).

Lycurgus, enemy of Dionysus, killed his own son with an axe, imagining that he was cutting a branch of a vine.[26] According to Tibullus, who wrote a short time after Diodorus, Osiris taught men to cultivate the vine, but the poet describes no journeys made by the Egyptian god.[27] Plutarch is the only author who refers to the distribution of plants by Osiris. Although he does not specifically mention the vine, he states that after Osiris had shown the Egyptians how to cultivate fruit, had given them laws and taught them to honour the gods, he travelled over the entire earth civilizing it; this he did without the need of arms, since he convinced most of the peoples by his words and music. And Plutarch adds that for this reason the Greeks identified him with Dionysus.[28] The resemblance to Diodorus' version is apparent, yet one must bear in mind that Plutarch worked on his treatise more than one hundred years after Diodorus.

Diodorus, therefore, was the first, as far as we know, who turned the distribution of both the vine and the production of the wine into one of the tasks which Osiris and Dionysus had accomplished during their journeys. Judging from the praises sung by the ancient authors, the benefit to mankind was enormous. Euripides claims that the wine relieves the pains of human beings, while Pindar describes it as βιόδωρον ἀμαχανίας ἄκος (a life-giving cure for trouble). According to Plato, the wine makes old men feel young again and forget their crabbiness; as a result, they become softer and more compliant just like iron thrust into a fire. Horace argues that the beverage drives out troubles such as an onerous military service and poverty, and fills the depressed with hope, whereas Plutarch stresses the self-confidence that wine provides for those who drink it. Finally, Athenaeus quotes the words of others who assert, *inter alia*, that the wine is the best remedy for human beings, makes the humble feel proud, the angry man laugh and the weak to be brave.[29]

Athenaeus also refers to the wine as an actual medicine, one which physicians use in order to aid the wounded.[30] Cato, Strabo and Pliny also attest to that. While Cato offers recipes for a variety of potions

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[26] Apollod., *Bibl.*, III.5.1–3.

[27] Tib., I.7.33–38.

[28] Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 13 (*Mor.*, 356a–b).

[29] Eur., *Bacch.*, 280–281; Pind., *Paean* IV.26, fr. 124b; Pl. *Leg.*, II.666a–b; Hor., *Carm.*, I.18.5, III.21.13–20, *Epist.*, I.5.17–19 (cf. Ov., *Ars. Am.*, I.237–246); Plut., *Quaes. Conv.*, I.1.2 (*Mor.*, 613a–c), VII.10.1–2 (*Mor.*, 715a–716c); Athen., II.35c–36f. Compare to *Psalms*, 104.15: "ויין ישמח לבב-אנוש להצהיל פנים משמן ולחם לבב-אנוש יסעד".

[30] Athen., II.36a.

which contain wine, Strabo indicates that the wine of Lagaria in southern Italy was especially appreciated by physicians. Pliny adds that the Greeks named a certain wine "life" (βίος) because it had been used as a treatment of many maladies. He lists different types of wines which had curious properties such as one which produced the ability in women to bear children and another which cured snake-bites, and discusses both the damages and the benefits of wine as, for instance, when it is mixed with other ingredients (e.g. wine prepared with sea-water is injurious to the stomach, to the sinews and to the bladder, while wine seasoned with pitch is helpful for ulceration, cough, asthma and other illnesses).[31]

Moreover, wine helps a man to pour his heart out and to reveal his secrets. The phrase ἐν οἴνῳ ἀλήθεια which appears in Zenobius' collection of proverbs of the second century CE attests to that. The idea expressed by this phrase—better known nowadays in its Latin translation, *in vino veritas*, but does not appear in the classical sources as such—may be traced in the works of poets such as Theognis, Alcaeus and Horace, while Pliny wrote *veritas … attributa vino est* (the truth has been attributed to wine).[32] Yet the ancients were well aware of the harmful effects of wine. Plato is concerned with the need to restrict the drinking. He believes, for instance, that young men under the age of eighteen should abstain from wine entirely and that those under thirty should drink it moderately. He also suggests the enactment of a law forbidding soldiers and magistrates during their year of office to drink wine. Nobody, in his opinion, should be permitted to drink wine during the day, except for physical exercise or illness. Horace warns of an excessive use of the gifts of Liber, whereas Athenaeus elaborates on the same theme by citing various authors. Panyasis, for example, says that wine drives off all grief when drunk in due measure but when taken excessively it is a curse. Pliny adds a physiological explanation—the wine warms up the inner parts of the body thus causing a change of behaviour—and

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[31] Cato, *Agr.*, 122–123; Strabo, VI.1.14 C 263; Plin., *NH*, XIV.77, 96, 116–118, XXIII.31–53. For the medicinal uses of wine in later sources, see Mayerson 1993, pp. 169–173, who also explains that the Ascalon wine was light and delicate thus favoured by physicians, whereas other types of wine were unsuited for medicinal purposes. See also D'Arms 1995, pp. 314–317.

[32] Zenobius, *Compendium veterum proverbiorum*, ex Tarraeo et Didymo collectum, centuria IV.5 (Leutsch, Schneidewin 1965, p. 85); Theog., 500–501; Alc., frs. 73, 95 (Reinach); Hor., *Epist.*, I.5.16, *Sat.*, I.4.89; Plin., *NH*, XIV.141. See also Athen., II.38b.

produces an instance to exemplify the bad effects of immoderate drinking—Alexander the Great, being drunk, killed his friends.[33]

Diodorus' discussion reflects both sides of the coin. His heroes taught men to enjoy the wine and, at the same time, were well aware of its disadvantages. Dionysus knew that imbibing unmixed wine in abundance turned one into a madman (IV.4.6–7). Athenaeus refers to that: those who blend the wine with water and drink it moderately become cheerful, while those who overstep the bounds are brought to violence. Drinking unmixed wine, according to Athenaeus, leads to bodily collapse. An example is found in Herodotus: Cleomenes, king of Sparta, socializing with the Scythians, became a drinker of undiluted wine as a result of which he turned out to be mad.[34] Yet Diodorus was obviously aware of a famous case dating from the beginning of his own era. Alexander's drinking habits and the episode in which, being intoxicated, he killed Cleitus during a feast were well known to authors,[35] especially to those who recounted his deeds,[36] Diodorus included. The incident in which Alexander and his companions had drunk excessively and been dragged into a violent argument is missing from Diodorus' seventeenth book which is devoted to Alexander, but it appears in the list of its contents. Furthermore, relating to the danger of taking unmixed wine in the tale of Dionysus, Diodorus describes an incident similar to that in which Cleitus found his death. He states that when friends had assembled and filled themselves with a great quantity of unmixed wine, they were struck with madness and began to beat each other with their wooden staves. Hence Dionysus ordered them to carry a stalk (νάρθηξ) instead of a wooden rod (IV.4.6–7).

The fact that Diodorus was affected by the life story of Alexander gains support from his references to the king's drinking parties. Twice he even connects these parties to the tragedies which followed. Alexander,

[33] Pl. *Leg.*, II.666a–b, 673e–674c; Hor., *Carm.*, I.18.7; Athen., II.36a–38d; Plin., *NH*, XIV.58, 137–140.

[34] Athen., II.36a, 38c–d; Hdt., VI.84 (cf. Athen., X.427a–b). For the process and ratio of mixing wine with water, see Athen., X.426a–427a. For further instances of the bad effects of excessive drinking, see Pl. *Leg.*, 637a (causes acts of *hybris*); Plut., *Apophtegmata Laconcia*, Leotychidas [*Mor.*, 224d] (the Spartans drank so little in order that the others may not deliberate over them, but they over others); Plin., *NH*, XIV.143–148 (evils inflicted on the world through the heavy drinking of individuals). See Fisher 1989, pp. 26–50; D'Arms 1995, pp. 304–317.

[35] E.g. Plin., *NH*, XIV.58; Athen., X.434a–c; Ael., *VH*, III.23.

[36] Arr., IV.8.1–9, 14.2; Curt., VI.2.2, VIII.1.20–2.12; Plut., *Alex.*, 50.1–51.6, *Quaest. Conv.*, I.6.1 (*Mor.*, 623d–624a); Iust., XII.6.1–15.

according to him, arranged festivals to entertain his troops and invited his friends to continuous carousals (πότους συνεχεῖς). In the course of these, Hephaestion had drunk strong drinks, fell ill and died (XVII.110.7–8). One may find more details in other sources—Hephaestion had fallen ill but, contrary to his physician's orders, arose from his bed, ate a rich meal and drank a large amount of wine; his illness became worse and he died soon afterwards[37]—yet the link between the wine and Hephaestion's tragic end is more obvious in Diodorus' account. The second case relates to Alexander's death. Diodorus maintains that the king drank much unmixed wine and even gulped down a huge cup filled to the brim. After this he screamed as though he had been beaten and was conducted to his accommodation. As his pains increased, the physicians were summoned but could not save his life (XVII.117.1–4).[38] Various explanations have been offered for Alexander's malady and death. Diseases such as scarlet fever and malaria have been mentioned, yet some have argued that he had been poisoned by poison inserted into his last cup of wine, while others have suggested that alcoholism was the cause of his illness.[39] Whatever the explanation, the question of unrestrained drinking of wine had been on the table in the Hellenistic era and Diodorus expresses it in his unique way. It may well be that he had another example, a later one, that of Mark Antony, who was also known for his fondness of drink.[40]

The link of Diodorus' mythological description to the real events of the Hellenistic era may also be noticed in his detailed account of the actions of both Osiris and Dionysus. Osiris' deeds pertaining to the vine—his instructions on how to cultivate the plant, the invention of the proper treatment of its fruit, his directions regarding the harvest and the production of the wine, as well as the preservation of the wine and its storage—reminds the reader of a passage in Cato's *De Agri Cultura*. This work, which is practically a manual intended for the farmer, discusses all the stages of the cultivation of the vine and the production of the wine. The description of Dionysus' deeds which includes the teach-

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[37] Plut., *Alex.*, 72.1; Arr., VII.14.1.

[38] Cf. Arr., VII.24.4–27.3; Iust., XII.13.7–14.8; Plut., *Alex.*, 75.3–77.3; Curt., X.10.14–17; Athen., X.434a–c, XII.537d; Paus., VIII.18.6.

[39] See e.g. Wilcken 1967, pp. 236–238; Bosworth 1971, pp. 112–136; Bosworth 1988, pp. 171–173; Green 1991, pp. 473–477. The various versions of the *Alexander-Romance* is another source for the circumstances of the king's death. See, for example, Ps. Callisthenes, III.20 ap. Wallis Budge 1976, pp. 135–138; Ps. Callisthenes, 266 ap. Wolohojian's translation of the Romance 1969, p. 151.

[40] Plut., *Ant.*, 4.2; Plin., *NH*, XIV.147–148.

ing of ways to dry and to store fruit resembles the content of another treatise which concerns agriculture: *De Re Rustica* of Varro. The latter explains how to store wheat, legumes, apples, pomegranates, olives and wine. The question of storing food is also dealt with by Cato who recommends methods to preserve grain, grapes, pears and other fruit. It goes without saying that these two books were composed in the Hellenistic period. Moreover, Varro was Diodorus' contemporary and his work on agriculture, as attested to by him, was written towards the end of his life, that is during the time in which Diodorus was still working on his *Bibliotheke*.[41]

Apparently, Diodorus' heroes set out to solve a vital problem, that of the storing and the preserving of food, with which the people of his age were still engaged. The Romans, for instance, forced to bring grain from abroad, made an effort to find ways to store it. This effort is borne out both by the literary works and by the actions of statesmen. Authors of the second and the first centuries BCE (Cato, Varro and Vitruvius) were in dispute regarding the proper method, a disagreement which continued in the first century CE as shown in the works of writers such as Columella and Pliny.[42] Gaius Gracchus, responsible for the law according to which grain should be sold for a reduced price to the members of the *plebs*, also paid attention to the storage of the grain. He initiated the building of granaries for keeping the public grain (*horrea ad custodiam frumenti publici*).[43] Only fragments survive of Diodorus' book dealing with the tribunate of Gaius Gracchus; thus there is no detailed account of his laws. Yet one may find a sentence indicating that Diodorus was well aware of Gracchus' activities. In XXXIV/XXXV.25.1 he states that the Roman tribune wasted the public treasury on disgraceful and inappropriate expenses and favours. Referring to the law on the grain supply itself, Cicero says similar things: the distribution of grain by Gaius Gracchus had been on a large scale; he, therefore, emptied the treasury. Listing Gracchus' laws, among which is the law on grain, Livy describes them as

[41] Cato on the vine: *Agr.*, 11.1–13.3, 23.1–26.1, 104.1–115.2; on the storage of fruit: Cato, *Agr.*, 7.2–4, 92.1, 116.1–120.1; Varro, *Rust.*, I.57.1–68.1. For the date of Varro's work: *Rust.*, I.1.1.

[42] Cato, *Agr.*, 92; Varro, *Rust.*, I.57.1–3, 63.1; Vitr., *De Arch.*, I.4.2, VI.6.4; Columella, *Rust.*, I.6.9–17, II.20.6; Plin., *NH*, XVIII.301–308.

[43] For the law: Liv., *Epit.*, 60; App., *BCiv.*, I.21; Plut., *C. Gracch.*, 5.2; Vell. Pat., II.6.3. For the granaries: Fest., *De Verb. Sig.*, s.v. Sempronia horrea (Lindsay 1913, p. 370); Plut., *C. Gracch.*, 6.3.

ruinous.[44] The opinion shared by these authors regarding the measures taken by Gaius Gracchus is of no concern to us here. It seems that Diodorus was familiar both with the law on grain which had burdened the Roman treasury and with the granaries which had been built[45] and, as he does in many other cases, refers to this issue in the mythological section of his work.

Solutions to problems concerning the storage of wine were also offered. Pliny describes these, emphasizing that the climate was a crucial factor in choosing the proper way to store the beverage, while Columella explains how to treat the vessels and the room in which the wine was stored. Moreover, as revealed by archaeological findings, there was also an innovation during the Hellenistic era; for although the sealing of an *amphora* with a cork had been invented earlier, its efficacy was acknowledged in the first century BCE during which the use of it became prevalent.[46]

Diodorus' heroes, then, provided human beings with the vine and the wine which turned out to be an essential element of their daily life. The importance of this plant and its product may also be seen in the attention which they receive in literature. There are detailed accounts of various types of vine and the proper ways of planting and cultivating them in the works of authors such as Theophrastus and Columella. Pliny devotes almost a whole book to the subject.[47] Many references both to the vine and the wine are made by poets and playwrights among which are Virgil and Plautus, who even offers a recipe for spicy wine. In his geography Strabo gives information regarding the wines of different countries, including their quality, prices, and storage vessels.[48]

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[44] Cic., *Off.*, II.72; Liv., *Epit.*, 60.

[45] For the question of storing in general and Gracchus' actions in particular, see Boren 1968, pp. 91–92; Rickman 1971, passim; Stockton 1979, pp. 126–129; Rickman 1980, pp. 134–143, 156–161.

[46] Plin., *NH*, XIV.132–136; Columella, *Rust.*, XII.18.2–7; for the archaeological evidence, see Forbes 1993, vol. 3, p. 125; Singleton 1996, pp. 70–71.

[47] Theophr., *Caus. Pl.*, III.11–16, *Hist. Pl.*, II.5.3–7, IV.13.4–16.6, passim; Columella, *Rust.*, V.4.1–6.37, XII.18.1–40.1; Plin., *NH*, XIV.7–148.

[48] Virgil: e.g. *G.*, II.90.-102, IV.102; Plautus: e.g *Persa*, 87–88, *Pseudolus*, 740–741 (cf. Plin., *NH*, XIV.92–93); Strabo: e.g. V.1.8 C 214, 1.12 C 218, 3.10 C 237, XIV.1.15 C 637. For wine in antiquity, see also Dion 1959, pp. 65–194; Forbes 1956a, pp. 128–137; Seltman 1957, passim; Darby, Chalioungui, Grivetti 1976, vol. 2, pp. 551–617; Lucas 1989, pp. 16–24; Lissarrague 1990, passim; Unwin 1991, pp. 1–133; Forbes 1993, vol. 3, pp. 72–80; Murray, Tecuşan 1995; McGovern, Flemming, Katz 1996, passim; Dayagi-Mendels 1999. For the significance of the *symposium*, see Murray 1990; Schmitt Pantel 1992.

Osiris and Dionysus invented yet another drink, i.e. beer. As previously noted, this was prepared from barley as a substitute for wine in places where vines could not grow, and was only slightly inferior to wine in aroma and in potency (I.20.4, III.73.6, IV.2.5). No source, other than Diodorus, attributes this deed to these gods. In the papyri Osiris is sometimes introduced with barley and, in addition, this plant and the beverage made of it appear in the prayers to this god.[49] In the works of Tibullus and Plutarch, in which Osiris is presented with wheat or with vines, barley is not mentioned. Augustine who states that Isis had discovered barley and shared her innovation with Osiris does not refer to the production of a drink from the newly discovered plant. Strabo says that the Egyptians had a special way of preparing beer but does not discuss the origin of the beverage.[50] The same is true regarding Dionysus. In Apollodorus and Ovid there is only an allusion to a link between this god and barley. Both authors remark that he granted the daughters of Anius the power of creating olive oil, grain and wine. Apollodorus employs the word σῖτος which means "grain" in general (that is, wheat as well as barley) and not πυρός (wheat) or κριτή (barley), whereas Ovid uses *seges* (crop) and not *triticum* (wheat) or *hordeum* (barley). It is, therefore, possible that both plants are meant. Beer, however, is not mentioned. Thus Diodorus' originality lies in assigning the invention of beer and the distribution both of barley and beer in the world to Osiris and Dionysus.[51]

In the tale of Dionysus he also mentions a drink made of barley which was called by some ζῦθος (IV.2.5). Elsewhere in his work, his remarks prove that the adjective "some" stand for real peoples. In his discussion of Egypt he states that the inhabitants prepare a drink out of barley which they call *zythos* (ζῦθος), adding, in exactly the same words as in IV.2.5, that it is not much inferior to wine in its aroma (I.34.10). In a chapter dealing with the Gauls he argues that since the cold weather in their land allows them to produce neither wine nor oil, they make a drink out of barley which they call *zythos* (V.26.2). Again, Diodorus combines myth and history and his comments confirm that beer was well known both in the East and the West. This accords with the information offered by other

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49 Erman 1927, p. 304; Breasted 1962, vol. 3, no. 17; Frazer 1963, part IV, vol. 2, pp. 116–117; Griffiths 1980, pp. 163–170.

50 Tib., I.7.27–48; Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 13 (*Mor.*, 356a–b); August., *De Civ. D.*, VIII.27; Strabo, XVII.2.5 C 824.

51 Apollod., *Bibl.*, *Epit.*, III.10; Ov., *Met.*, XIII.652–654. The originality of Diodorus was already noticed by Darby, Chalioungui, Grivetti 1976, vol. 2, pp. 530–531.

authors, according to which beer was known in Egypt, Ethiopia, Spain, and Gaul, among the Ligurian and German tribes, as well as in Pannonia, Illyria, Paeonia, Thrace and even in Thule.[52]

The benefit which Diodorus' heroes conferred upon mankind is clear in view of the fact that the beer was a substitute for the wine. In Athenaeus one may read that men who drink it were in high spirits; they sang, danced and acted as though they were intoxicated with wine.[53] In addition, beer was used as a leaven in making bread, to soften ivory and to make candies.[54] The foam of the beer was employed by women for cosmetic purposes and papyri attest to the use of beer in various medicines.[55] According to Diodorus, Osiris and Dionysus endeavoured to compensate the inhabitants of those countries in which vines could not grow. This was, apparently, the reason for the circulation of beer. Herodotus states that the Egyptians prepared a drink out of barley because they had no vines in their land. Although he is mistaken—for the Egyptians did cultivate the vine and made wine of its fruit[56]—his statement strengthens the grounds for the spread of beer put forward by Diodorus. Further support might be found in Strabo, who maintains that both the Lusitanians who dwelled on the mountains and the Ligurians drink beer since their lands produce a small quantity of wine, and in Cassius Dio who narrates similar things concerning the Pannonians.[57]

Yet there is another reason, one which Diodorus does not mention. Athenaeus writes that the Egyptians, who were bibulous and especially fond of wine, helped those who could not afford it by preparing a drink out of barley. Aristotle, according to Athenaeus, argues that men reacted differently to wine and to beer. Those who had drunk wine were subjected to headaches, generally falling down face foremost, while those who had taken beer became stupefied, always falling on their backs. Elsewhere Athenaeus cites Polybius who describes the house of a certain Iberian

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[52] Hdt., II.77; Polyb., XXXIV.9.15 (= Athen., I.16c); Strabo, III.3.7 C 155, IV.5.5 C 201, IV.6.2 C 202, XVII.1.14 C 799, XVII.2.2 C 821, XVII.2.5 C 824; Athen., I.34b, X.418e, X.447c–d; Plin., *NH*, XIV.149, XVIII.68, XXII.164; Columella, *Rust*., X.116; Tac., *Germ*., 23; Dio, XLIX.36.3; Amm. Marc., XXVI.8.2.

[53] Athen., I.34b; cf. Dio Chrys., *Or*., XXXII.82.

[54] Theophr., *HP*, IV.8.12; cf. Plin., *NH*, XXI.88.

[55] Plin., *NH*, XXII.164; Darby, Chalioungui, Grivetti 1976, vol. 2, pp. 548–549; Lucas 1989, p. 12; see also Forbes 1951, p. 284.

[56] E.g. Diod., I.36.5; Strabo, XVII.1.14 C 799. See Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, pp. 353–355; Rostovtzeff 1967, pp. 93–103; Erman 1969, pp. 169–199; Montet 1981, p. 88; Murray 1999, pp. 149–169.

[57] Strabo, III.3.7 C 155, IV.6.2 C 202; Dio, XLIX.36.2–3.

king who imitated the luxury of the Phaeacians, except for the gold and silver bowls which were put inside the house filled with barley wine.[58] The implication is clear: those who used to drink beer were not only poorer, but also inferior to those who drank wine. Ammianus Marcellinus explicitly states that a drink made of barley was the beverage of the poor people in Illyria. Tacitus remarks that the Germans consumed a drink made of either wheat or barley which resembled wine, but the tribes who dwelt near the Rhine also bought wine. Julian, the emperor, expresses his dislike of beer in a poem in which this drink is again depicted as inferior.[59] Beer, then, appears to be the beverage of the lower classes and the less important peoples. According to Egyptian sources, however, it was also enjoyed by the nobility.[60] It is possible that beer was associated with the commoners because of its lower price compared to that of wine, a price which was the result of a simpler production process and the abundance of grain in Egypt.[61] One gets the impression that Diodorus' heroes benefited all classes of the population in the lands which they visited—nobles and commoners, rich and poor—and all peoples—barbarians included. They introduced the two alcoholic beverages which became an essential part of the diet and the life of mankind. The illustrations of these two drinks, especially of wine, both in literature and in the visual arts[62] are evidence of their significance.

Osiris and Dionysus also distributed the plants from which these drinks were prepared, namely the vine and barley. This, again, reflects the events of the Hellenistic era, in which constant efforts to acclimatize

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[58] Athen., I.34b, X.447a–b; Polyb., XXXIV.9.15 = Athen., I.16c (cf. Hom., *Od.*, VIII. 250).

[59] Amm. Marc., XXVI.8.2; Tac., *Germ.*, 23; *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse*, no. 626.

[60] Breasted 1962, vol. 3, nos. 17, 71, 77, vol. 4, e.g. nos. 190, 200, 238–239, 498.

[61] Darby, Chalioungui, Grivetti 1976, vol. 2, pp. 531–532. For a discussion of the production of beer, drinking habits *et cetera*, see Forbes 1951, pp. 281–285, 300; Erman 1969, pp. 192–193; Darby, Chalioungui, Grivetti 1976, vol. 2, pp. 529–550; Montet 1981, pp. 87–88; Lucas 1989, pp. 10–16; Geller 1992, pp. 19–26; Forbes 1993, vol. 3, pp. 65–72, 130–134. The "supremacy" of wine over beer may be seen also in Pliny who, having briefly mentioned various kinds of beer, states that it is better to start the discussion of the wine (*NH*, XXII.164). According to Plutarch, wine was the cause of the invasion of the Gauls into Italy, for they searched for wine after they had tasted it and discovered the pleasure in drinking it (*Cam.*, 15.2). Generals, not only Alexander, celebrated their victories with wine. The Roman Lucullus, on his return from Asia, distributed many jars of wine to the citizens of Rome; Julius Caesar used to serve the people attending his triumphs and banquets a variety of wines (Plin., *NH*, XIV.96–97).

[62] See e.g. Boardman 1996, p. 104, no. 92, p. 119, no. 108, p. 248, no. 252, p. 282, no. 286; Boardman 2001, pp. 147, 217–226, 247–254.

plants were made. Information passed from East to West and vice versa. An illuminating example might be found in Athenaeus who, discussing various kinds of wines, cites the Athenian Chaereas (probably of the second century BCE) who mentioned a wine named *nectar* which had been produced from a Babylonian vine. Another example is that of Strabo, who argues that the Macedonians were the first to plant vines in Susiana and Babylon. He is, evidently, mistaken, for vines had been grown previously in these countries. However, even if the Macedonians were not the pioneers in planting the vine but merely expanded the vineyards and employed their cultivation techniques in the foreign country, then this is another case of transmission of knowledge, this time from West to East.[63] One should also point out the acts of the Ptolemies in this respect. They encouraged the introduction of new kinds of vines in Egypt, supervised the harvest and the production of wine, laid heavy taxes on the owners of vineyards but reduced them in time of need. Like Osiris, they conferred benefits upon the inhabitants of the land but, concomitantly, imposed supervision and levies.[64]

Irrigation, Water Supply and Measures to Prevent Flooding

Other tasks by which the gods and heroes contributed to the development of agriculture concern water. On his arrival at the borders of Ethiopia, Osiris repaired (the Nile) by dikes on both banks (ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν χώμασιν ἀναλαβεῖν), so that during a flood the river might not create pools which would spoil the land, but that the water might be gradually let in, as much as might be needed, through gates which he had built (Diod., I.19.5). Upon his return to Egypt, Sesostris built many great mounds (χώματα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατασκευάσας) and moved to them cities which were situated in low-lying places in order to secure the safety of both the inhabitants and the herds at the time of the flooding of the Nile. He also dug a dense network of canals from the river over the entire land from Memphis to the sea. This he did to enable the harvest to be carried out quickly and easily. Sesostris' deeds had a far-reaching effect: the many canals made the country difficult of access by enemies (Diod., I.57.1–3). Heracles, too, endeavoured to solve a problem

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[63] Athen., I.32b; Strabo, XV.3.11 C 731. See also Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 2, pp. 1164–1165.

[64] *P. Cairo Zeno*, 59033, 59236, 59357, 59361, 59367; *P. Teb.*, 5 §93–99 (for this papyrus, see Hunt, Edgar 1934, vol. 2, no. 210). For the accomplishments of the Ptolemies, see Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, pp. 353–355. Compare the activities of the Ptolemies to those of Osiris described in Diod., I.18.6, 20.2–3.

imposed by the flooding of the Nile. Explaining that when the river is at flood it breaks out of its banks, inundates a large part of Egypt and causes damage, Diodorus states that Heracles rapidly blocked up the breach and turned the river back into its former course (I.19.1–2).

The difficulties with which the mythical heroes dealt are obviously real. Moreover, Diodorus is the only one who assigns these accomplishments to Osiris and Heracles. Indeed, Osiris is associated with the Nile, some even claim that he is the Nile itself,[65] but nowhere is it stated that he had built dikes on both banks of the rivers. Heracles, on the other hand, is said to have turned the course of rivers—such as that of the Alpheius River in the Peloponnesus (in order to clean the stables of Augeas)[66]—but no writer ascribes to him a similar feat in Egypt. Furthermore, Diodorus argues that the district of Egypt which Prometheus governed suffered particularly from flooding as a result of which Prometheus thought of taking his own life. For this reason, Diodorus adds, certain Greek poets recorded the tale according to which Heracles had killed the eagle which was devouring the liver of Prometheus (I.19.1–3). The latter story appears, for instance, in Apollodorus, yet neither the flooding of the Nile nor Heracles' action is mentioned.[67]

Sesostris, however, is credited by Herodotus with a deed similar to that attributed to him by Diodorus. Describing the Egyptian cities built on mounds, Herodotus claims that these were first created by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris. The mention of Bubastis as the highest city attests to a resemblance of the region in which Sesostris had operated. Yet there is one difference between the accounts of the two authors: whereas Diodorus emphasizes the aims and achievements of Sesostris, Herodotus is not interested in any of these. Strabo also links Sesostris to the canals of the Nile but maintains that he cut the canal which led from the river to the Red Sea. The geographer admits that there is another version, according to which the work on this canal had been begun by Necho and later finished by Darius. This version may be found in Herodotus and Diodorus, who adds that it was Ptolemy II who brought the digging to an end after the advance which had been made by Darius.[68] Thus, Diodorus' creativity cannot be established in the case of

[65] Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 32 (*Mor.*, 363d), 33 (*Mor.*, 364a), 36 (*Mor.*, 365b), 38–39 (*Mor.*, 366a–f). See Breasted 1959, pp. 21, 333–334; Frazer 1963, part IV, vol. 2, pp. 33–34; Griffiths 1980, pp. 151–155; Forbes 1993, vol. 2, p. 26.

[66] Theoc., *Id.*, XV.7–17; Apollod., *Bibl.*, II.5.5; Diod., IV.13.3; Paus., V.1.10.

[67] Apollod., *Bibl.*, I.7.1, II.5.11.

[68] Hdt., II.137, 158, IV.42; Strabo, I.2.31 C 38, XVII.1.25 C 804; Diod., I.33.9–10.

Sesostris, but he is definitively original in pointing out the advantages of the king's deeds in the Nile to human beings.

The features of the Nile and its problems were well known to Diodorus. In a detailed discussion, mentioned above, he refers, *inter alia*, to the season in which the river rises, to the Nilometer at Memphis by which those who were in charge accurately measured the rise, and to the conveying of this information to the worried inhabitants (I.32.4–5, 36.2–41.10). It is possible that Diodorus, while in Egypt, had himself seen some of the things of which he wrote (I.46.7, 83.9, III.11.3, XVII.52.6) and that these found their way into his version of the myths. Further proof of this conjecture may be presented. Later, in his description of Egypt, Diodorus remarks that king Uchoreus who had founded Memphis built a huge dike (χῶμα παμμέγεθες) on the south of the city to serve as a blockade against the swelling of the Nile and, at the same time, as a citadel against attacks by land; around all the other sides of the city he excavated a great lake (I.50.5, 51.1). Both the idea and the words used by Diodorus here and in the case of Osiris are identical: the problem was ἡ πλήρωσις τοῦ ποταμοῦ/αὐτοῦ (the flooding by the river) and the solution lay in building one dike, χῶμα, or several. It is also interesting that in both the stories of Uchoreus and Sesostris Diodorus highlights the contribution of their enterprises to the defence of Egypt against enemies. In later times, king Moeris dug another lake, bearing his name, to receive the surplus water of the Nile. He also cut a canal from the river to the lake and, by opening and closing its entrances skilfully albeit expensively, he provided the farmers with an appropriate supply of water. Diodorus again explains that the purpose of the work was to prevent the river from ruining the harvests by a lack of water and by flooding caused by marshes and pools. He also remarks that this lake continued to serve the farmers until his own time (I.51.5–52.3).

Diodorus' account agrees with the details found in the works of other authors. Herodotus attributes the foundation of Memphis to a different king but, otherwise, his version resembles that of Diodorus: Min, the first king of Egypt, silted up the ancient channel of the Nile, turned the river into a new one and built Memphis on the land which had been drained. He also fenced the city with a dike and dug a lake to its north and west. Herodotus adds that the Persians kept a close watch over this river channel, repairing it each year, while elsewhere in his work, amazed by the site and the size of Lake Moeris, he mentions a canal leading from the river to the lake. Strabo emphasizes the constant threat of flooding, refers to the Nilometer and describes the canals and dikes built on the river

banks. His depiction of the Delta area corresponds with the outcomes of Sesostris' deeds according to Diodorus: numerous canals and settlements situated on natural hills or dikes. Strabo also concentrates on the canal which led water from the Nile to Lake Moeris at the rising of the river and, in the falling of the river, returned the excess water to the river. He claims that while the canal itself had been the work of nature, engineers put locks (κλεῖθρα) at both mouths of it in order to regulate both the inflow and the outflow of the water.[69] This same technique is attributed by Diodorus to Osiris; as mentioned, Osiris took care that the water of the Nile should flow into the fields as much as needed through gates constructed in the dikes (I.19.5). In effect, both Osiris and the Egyptian engineers built dams.[70]

It seems that the tasks which Diodorus ascribes to three of his heroes were drawn from the deeds of the rulers of Egypt. Papyri from the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods attest to great efforts made to develop an irrigation system that would lead water to the lands into which the water of the Nile did not flow and, concomitantly, would prevent the flooding of the fields near the river. Three types of lands appear in the Egyptian documents: inundated (βεβρεγμένη), uninundated (ἄβροχος) and dry (χέρσος) land. The Ptolemies, and later the Romans, endeavoured to exploit each of these types. The irrigation system had a vital role in the process together with the quality of the seeds and men's labour. Canals were cut in order to drain inundated land (a similar deed, referred to below, had been carried out by Heracles in Thessaly); uninundated land was partly irrigated by canals leading water from the Nile; while dry land received water from wells, reservoirs and waterwheels.[71]

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[69] Hdt., II.19, 99, 149; Strabo, I.2.25 C 32, V.1.5 C 212, XVII.1.3–4 C 788–789, 1.24–27 C 804–805, 1.35 C 809, 1.37 C 811; cf. Pin., *NH*, V.57–58.

[70] One should also notice that both Diodorus and Strabo elaborate on Lake Moeris and the canal which connects it to the Nile. For the most part, both accounts reveal similar details, yet there is one major difference: while Diodorus maintains that king Moeris dug the canal, Strabo claims that it was natural. The fact that both authors visited Egypt might explain the similarities; as for the difference, this is probably the result of the distinctive character of each discussion. Whereas Diodorus depicts the lake and the canal in the mythological section of his work, Strabo's description is purely geographical. This might add to the impression left by the previous chapter, namely that the first five books of the *Bibliotheke* also serve as a geographical introduction to the entire work without defining it as such.

[71] See Schnebel 1925, vol. 1, pp. 7–29; Westermann 1920, pp. 120–137; Westermann 1921, pp. 169–188; Westermann 1922, pp. 21–36.

The significance of proper irrigation as a means of producing a great quantity of fine grain was passed on from the Pharaohs to the Ptolemies and the Romans. Proof of the continuous importance of the irrigation system may be found in two Egyptian documents, one from the time of the Pharaohs and the other from the Roman period. The first indicates that in the administration of the Pharaohs there was a "chief of irrigation"; according to the other, "chiefs of irrigation" were listed among the officials of the Roman province.[72] Furthermore, the letters of two engineers in charge of the maintenance of the dikes and the control of the irrigation water in the Arsinoite Nome (Fayum) bear witness to a thorough development in that field during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.[73] Succeeding to the rule of Egypt, the Romans realized that they had to pay close attention to the cleaning of the canals and to the repair of the dikes.[74] Strabo, comparing the Nile with the Euphrates and the Tigris, underlines the significance of the annual maintenance of these canals and dikes. He argues that if their treatment is neglected, the overflow of the water would re-create lakes and marshes; there is no way of preventing the floods entirely but it is the duty of good rulers to assist as much as they possibly can.[75] Diodorus' heroes, then, were "good rulers".

How real the issue of irrigation was at the time of Diodorus may be inferred from the Romans' activities in Egypt about the time of turning the country into a Roman province. It is said that Augustus—perhaps still Octavian—sent his soldiers to clean all the canals into which the Nile had been flowing since they had been silted up with mud over the years. He intended to make the land more fertile in order to supply Rome with sufficient grain. The results of this enterprise may be found in Strabo. He states that in the time before Petronius' governorship of Egypt (namely, before 24 BCE), the crop was the largest when the Nile would rise to fourteen cubits, but when the river rose to only eight a famine would occur. During the time of Petronius as the governor of

[72] The Pharaohs: Breasted 1962, vol. 4, no. 726; cf. no. 266: slaves were employed to watch the canals. The Romans: *P. Ryl.*, 82; see also Westermann 1922, pp. 24–25; Forbes 1993, vol. 2, pp. 26–29.

[73] Westermann 1917a, pp. 426–430; Boak 1926a, pp. 353–362; Rostovtzeff 1967, pp. 56–70.

[74] See e.g. *P. Oxy.*, XII.1409, 1469; *BGU*, I.14, col. III. These papyri dated from the third century CE; however, the Romans learned about the importance of cleaning, building and repairing the canals and dikes from the previous rulers of Egypt. See Westermann 1919, pp. 158–164; Westermann 1925, pp. 121–129; Schnebel 1925, vol. 1, pp. 29–44; Boak 1926b, pp. 215–219.

[75] Strabo, XVI.1.9–10 C 739–740.

the province, however, the crop was the largest when the Nilometer registered only twelve cubits and when it registered only eight, there was no food shortage.[76] It is commonly believed that the reorganization of the irrigation system did not take place in 30 BCE, when Egypt was annexed, but towards the end of Aelius Gallus' period of office (27–26 BCE).[77] Even if this is true, one may safely say that Diodorus dealt, again, with a contemporary topic in the mythological section of his work.

The influence of real life is further demonstrated by the site at which Osiris operated. The latter, according to Diodorus, built the dikes upon his arrival at the borders of Ethiopia (I.19.5). This is no mere coincidence as this region was suitable for a venture such as this—that is, to regulate and to control the flow of the Nile—as can be figured out not only from the events of antiquity but also from those of modern times. The city of Syene and the island of Elephantine form the boundary between Egypt and Ethiopia. Strabo who, travelling throughout Egypt in the company of Aelius Gallus, sailed up the Nile as far as the southern border of the country, maintains that Syene and Elephantine lie near the first cataract and that, as in Memphis, a Nilometer was placed on Elephantine. He also mentions that three Roman cohorts were stationed at Syene to guard the area.[78] At the beginning of the twentieth century, the first dam was built in Aswan, the modern name of Syene, for irrigation purposes and to improve the production of grain for the increasing Egyptian population. The construction of the second dam, called the Aswan High Dam, took ten years (1960–1970). This dam extended the irrigated land and provided electric power.[79]

To add validity to the deeds of Osiris, Sesostris and Heracles, a few more references might be presented. Strabo argues that the activity around the Nile had been so far reaching that it overcomes nature by human care; when nature has failed, men are able to bring about the watering of vast areas by means of canals and dikes. The Nile is not the

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[76] Suet., *Aug.*, 18.2; Dio, LI.17.1, 18.1; Strabo, XVII.1.3 C 788.

[77] Westermann 1917b, pp. 237–243; Westermann 1919, pp. 163–164; Boak 1926a, p. 362. On the creation of the Roman province in Egypt, see recently Capponi 2005 with bibliography.

[78] Strabo, II.5.12 C 118, XVII.1.3 C 787, 1.12 C 797, 1.48–49 C 817; cf. Plin., *NH*, V.59.

[79] Berlow 1998, s.v. Aswan Dam; Smith 1972, pp. 221–222, 241–243; Smith 1975, pp. 51–53, 205–207. For the first dam, see also the report of its engineer: Sir William Willcocks 1919, passim; for the Aswan High Dam, see the account of the Ministry of Irrigation and Hydro-Electric Power 1967. For further discussion of the Nile and the irrigation system, see Petrie 1970, pp. 22, 39, 129–133, 182–185; Erman 1969, pp. 13, 425–427; Schnitter 1994, pp. 1–7; Garbrecht 1997, pp. 1–6; Oleson 2000, pp. 197–204.

only river on which this technique was employed. It was known both to Plato and Aristotle who, without specifying any particular region, describe an irrigation system which includes canals and dikes, intended to water dry lands as well. Pausanias tells of dikes built in Arcadia and Boeotia to prevent water from causing damage to arable lands. To return to Strabo, he states that the Euphrates rises at the beginning of the summer, forming lakes and overflowing the tilled land. Consequently, as in Egypt, canals were dug to distribute the excess water. Strabo provides the deeds of Alexander as an example: having defeated the Persians, he took care of the canals.[80] Diodorus' mythical heroes, then, acted like Alexander, the Ptolemies and the Romans. Moreover, Plato considers digging canals as an efficient way to protect a certain country from hostile invasion. Thus even in interpreting the effects of Sesostris' labour, Diodorus is inspired by reality.

Draining Marshes

Another contribution of the heroes to agriculture can be seen in their efforts to drain swamps. Heracles cut a ditch from Tempe in Thessaly—a flat country most of which is covered with marshes—to the region which bordered on it; through this canal he carried away all the water of the marsh and caused plains to appear. His aim, Diodorus concludes, was to confer benefits upon the Greeks. The author also adds the exact location of these plains—along the River Peneius in Thessaly—hence painting his description with reality (IV.18.6–7). But does his account correspond with the real features of the land? Both Herodotus and Strabo record a tradition according to which the plain of Thessaly was once a lake enclosed by mountains on all sides except for the region of the sea coast, yet this area was also more elevated than the plain. When earthquakes had created a rift at the site now called Tempe, the Peneius ran through it towards the sea and drained the country. Strabo also maintains that the Thessalian plains are fertile but, when the Peneius rises, most of them are subject to floods. This problem was successfully dealt with in Larisa, which lies on the bank of the Peneius to the south of Tempe. Since the

[80] Strabo, XVI.1.9 C 740 (on the Euphrates, cf. Hdt., I.193), XVII.1.3 C 787 (on the Nile); Pl. *Leg.*, 761a–b; Arist., *Mete.*, 349b–350a; Paus., VIII.23.2, 44.1–7, IX.23.1–2, 32.2–3. See Westermann's opinion, according to which Strabo's discussion of the Euphrates is based on his knowledge of the Nile gained during his visit to Egypt (Westermann 1917b, pp. 240–242). For the irrigation system in the region of the Euphrates, see also Adams 1981, pp. 186–188; for dikes and dams in Greece, see Murray 1984, pp. 195–203; Balcer 1974, pp. 141–149.

river had carried off part of the tilled land of the city, the inhabitants corrected this by dikes.[81] Theophrastus argues that in the past, when there was a great quantity of stagnant water in the district of Larisa and the plain was nothing but a lake, the climate in Larisa and its vicinity had been warmer; but when the water had been drained off and steps were taken to prevent it from becoming stagnant, the weather became colder. Pliny confirms this when he states that after the lake had been emptied, the region turned out to be cooler.[82]

The evidence shows that as far as the geographical setting and the difficulty with which Heracles dealt is concerned, his accomplishment coincides with the actual facts. The above authorities, however, do not specify the way in which the lake was drained. Does the method used by Heracles also tally with reality? In order to answer this question, it would be helpful to examine how lakes and marshes were drained in various places of the ancient world. In Egypt, as previously mentioned, an inundated land was drained by canals. In Boeotia, since Lake Copais had increased and put the neighbouring settlements in danger, the inhabitants made an effort to open up the subterranean channels which led the water out of the lake; as these had occasionally been blocked, the Boeotians even employed a mining engineer for the task. In the part of Gaul which is called Cispadana, since a large portion of the country had been covered with marshes, Aemilius Scaurus (maybe as censor in 109 BCE) drained the plains by canals from the River Po (Padus) to Parma. It is possible that he also took care of the swamps around Ravenna in northern Italy. Marius operated near the River Rhone (Rhodanus). Since the mouths of the river had been blocked by great quantities of mud, it became difficult to enter and slowed down the vessels carrying supplies. Marius ordered his soldiers to dig a canal into which they diverted much of the river. As a consequence, the water flowed in the direction of a new site on the coast and the original outlet of the river was drained. In central Italy, Claudius, the Emperor, made a great effort to empty Lake Fucinus, aiming to make the land around it available for cultivation and the River Liris more navigable. Thus a tunnel was excavated through the mountain between the lake and the River Liris at great expense but defects soon became evident and,

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[81] Hdt., VII.129; Strabo, VII. fr. 15a, VIII.8.5 C 389, IX.5.2 C 430, IX.5.19 C 440, XIII.3.4 C 621, cf. I.3.20 C 60.

[82] Theophr., *Caus. Pl.*, V.14.2–3; Plin., *NH*, XVII.30. See the discussion of Westlake 1935, pp. 2–7 who, *inter alia*, maintains that the assumption that an earthquake caused the draining of the region has no scientific proof.

although it was renovated in the time of Hadrian, Cassius Dio remarks that the money had been spent in vain.[83] These examples, including the last one though of a later period, indicate that Heracles drained the land of Tempe using the technique adopted by historical figures, a technique which has passed through the ages to modern times. The drainage of the Hula swamp of Israel in the 1950s, for instance, was carried out by enlarging and deepening the Jordan River and by digging canals through which the water ran into the river.[84]

Heracles brought benefits to the inhabitants in more than one respect. The draining of the swamps presented them with lands ready to be tilled and, at the same time, eliminated a health hazard. The people of antiquity were aware of the fact that pools of water could affect the health of those living in their vicinity and that they were the cause of certain diseases. Strabo maintains that living in Poseidonia (Paestum) is unhealthy on account of a river which created swamps in the neighbourhood of the city. Diogenes Laertius argues that the cause of a plague which brought about the death of the residents of Selinus in Sicily was the noisome smells from the river close by. Philostratus recounts that Apollonius, his hero, prayed to Heracles and dedicated a statue to him in Ephesus, asking for his help. This he did because during the reign of Augeas in Elis, Heracles had purged the city of a plague by washing away with the river-tide the vapour which came out of the land.[85] It is worth mentioning that Heracles, according to Diodorus, visited Poseidonia and, in travelling around Sicily, he must have passed near Selinus (IV.22.3, 23.1–4). Yet the author does not say that his hero improved the life of the inhabitants, as he had in Thessaly. However, the incident which Philostratus records hints at one of Heracles' twelve tasks, namely the cleansing of Augeas' stables, although Diodorus describes only the washing out of the stables and does not refer to a purge of the entire city (IV.13.3).

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[83] Boeotia: Strabo, IX.2,18 C 406–407; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀθῆναι; cf. Diog. Laert., IV.23. Cispadana and Ravenna: Strabo, V.1.11 C 217, V.1.7 C 213–214. Rhone: Plut., *Mar.*, 15.1–3; Strabo, IV.1.8 C 183. Central Italy: Tac., *Ann.*, XII.56–57; Plin., *NH*, XXXVI.124; Dio, LX.11.5.

[84] For the ancient drainage technique, see Forbes 1956b, pp. 678–680; Smith 1975, pp. 14–16; Wilson 2000, pp. 303–317. For the Hula, see e.g. Shoham, Levin 1968, pp. 15–16.

[85] Strabo, V.4.13 C 251; Diog. Laert., VIII.70; Philostr., *VA*, VIII.7. See Salowey 1994, p. 92 who finds further proof of the ancients' comprehension of the connection between water and illnesses in the statement of Herodotus, according to which a tributary of the Ister River is called by the Scythians Πόρατα but the Greeks named it Πυρετός, for Πυρετός means fever.

Diodorus is the only writer who attributes the drainage of the swamp in Tempe to Heracles. Yet similar deeds accomplished by the hero in other places may be traced elsewhere. Pausanias, for instance, states that he dug a canal through the middle of the plain of Pheneus in Arcadia in order to divert the water of the River Olbius (also known as Aroanius) into it. In addition, he made the pits (βάραθρα) in the nearby mountains which receive the water from the plain, thus preventing the flooding of the city of Pheneus. Like Diodorus, Pausanias tints Heracles' deeds with reality, connecting them with the topographical features of the land: the pits in the mountains and the canal in the middle of the plain.[86] These features are confirmed by both Strabo and Pliny, who claim that the pits had been blocked due to an earthquake and, as a result, the region of the Pheneus was flooded.[87] Diodorus' description is also of interest for he mentions a river near Pheneus which flows in underground caves (XV.49.5). Yet, discussing Heracles' actions in the Peloponnesus, he refers to his exile in Pheneus but says nothing about his efforts to prevent the flooding of the lands of the city (IV.33.2–34.1).

Creating and Modifying Lakes

An opposite act, that is turning a land into a lake, is ascribed to Heracles in Boeotia. According to Diodorus, damming the stream near the city of Orchomenus, he transformed the country into a lake and entirely ruined it. In this way he punished the inhabitants for enslaving the Thebans (IV.18.7).[88] A rather different version appears in Pausanias, who himself reveals his doubts concerning this story. He states that the Thebans believe that Heracles had diverted the River Cephisus into the plain of Orchomenus and a little later blocked up the chasm in the mountain

[86] Paus., VIII.14.1–3; cf. Plut., *De Sera*, 12 (*Mor.*, 557c); Catull., LXVIII.109–112. For Pausanias' account of the task of Heracles near Pheneus and its correlation with reality, see Salowey 1994, pp. 79–80; Baker-Penoyre 1902, pp. 228–240.

[87] Strabo, VIII.8.4 C 389; Pliny, *NH*, XXXI.54; cf. Theophr., *Hist. Pl.*, III.1.2, V.4.6; Ael., *NA*, III.38.

[88] Instances of using dams in order to cause damage to enemies can be found throughout history. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, had built a dam on the Euphrates River and created a large reservoir. Later, however, he destroyed this dam and, deluging Babylon, he razed the city to the ground (see e.g. Smith 1972, p. 9). The bombing of the Möhne and the Eder dams in Germany during the Second World War is the classic example of modern times. These two dams not only controlled the flowing of the water to both canals and fields, but were also a source of energy for the heavy industry close by, which was essentially military. See Churchill 1951, vol. 5, p. 68. Heracles constructed a dam; Sennacherib had built a dam and then ruined it; the British bombed dams. Despite the differences, in all three cases the dam served as a weapon to attack an enemy.

through which the river ran into the sea. Strabo alludes to this story, claiming that in the past the Thebans had to pay tribute to Orchomenus and to their tyrant, whom Heracles is said to have killed.[89]

This myth accords well with the topography of the region and its problems. Near the city of Orchomenus there was a large lake named Copais which received the waters of the rivers Melas and Cephisus (the latter being partly subterranean). As previously noted, Strabo maintains that since the inhabitants were in constant danger of being flooded they opened up the subterranean channels which led the water out of the lake. Elsewhere Strabo records a version according to which the land occupied by Lake Copais was formerly dry; it was cultivated by the Orchomenians and mentioned as proof of their wealth.[90] In fact, the wealth of Orchomenus is already recorded in the *Iliad*, and so is a lake with fertile lands around it and their rich owners. Pausanias, interpreting the Homeric verses as refuting the claim that Heracles created the lake, adds that Lake Cephisus (another name given to Lake Copais) covers most of the territory of Orchomenus and that in winter it extends to yet a greater area.[91] The condition of the lake in modern times confirms these details. Until the twentieth century, when it was successfully drained, Lake Copais used to flood during the winter and became a marsh in the summer.[92] It is possible that Diodorus was aware of the characteristics of the country in which his hero operated: contradicting Ephorus' arguments regarding the Nile, he uses as an example the Cephisus River in Boeotia which, as he puts it, flows from Phocis carrying off not a little land (I.39.13).

Heracles created yet another lake, but this time he intended to confer benefits upon the inhabitants of the place. According to Diodorus, he built a lake before the city of Agyrium, the circumference of which measured four stades, calling it by his own name as a mark of gratitude to those who had honoured him (IV.24.3). The lake is not mentioned by other authorities nor does Diodorus himself refer to it again.[93] This fact, however, does not mean that he invented it. Some points might be

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89 Paus., IX.38.7; Strabo, IX.2.40 C 414.

90 Strabo, IX.2.18 C 406–407, IX.2.40 C 415; cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀθῆναι.

91 Hom., *Il.*, V.708–710, IX.380–381; Paus., IX.38.6–7; cf. Theophr., *Caus. Pl.*, V.12.3, *Hist. Pl.*, IV.11.2.

92 Roberts 1895, pp. 58–59; Frazer 1913, vol. 5, pp. 110–120; Kenny 1935, pp. 189–190; Leake 1967, vol. 2, pp. 280–285; Buck 1979, pp. 3, 169. For the evidence of the attempts of draining Lake Copais in ancient times, see Kenny 1935, pp. 192–205.

93 Despite the fact that Agyrium appears elsewhere in his work, especially in the historical section, e.g. IV.80.5, XIV.95.2–5, XVI.83.3, XXII.13.1, where geographical details concerning the region in which the city lies may be found.

brought forward in support of its existence. Two rivers flowed in the vicinity of Agyrium: Chrysas to the south of the city; Cyamosorus to its north. The two are tributaries of the Symaethus, one of the largest rivers of Sicily, which today are called Dittaino and Salso respectively.[94] Is it not possible that they formed a reservoir? Diodorus speaks of a small lake, about seven hundred and twenty metres in circumference. Today there is a larger lake near Agira (the modern Agyrium), six kilometres long, which is practically a reservoir formed by the River Salso.[95] Another option is that the lake referred to by Diodorus was an artificial one, intended to improve the water supply to the city. The fact that there were rivers in the vicinity of the city reinforces this assumption (as well as the previous one) since rivers constitute a primary source for the creation of reservoirs.[96] As odd as it may sound, Diodorus' claim that Heracles created the lake might offer further support of the latter assumption since it may be that here, as elsewhere in his work, the historian assigns an act of a human being to his mythical hero. Since Agyrium is the birthplace of Diodorus, Heracles' deed has another facet. In ascribing the forming of the lake to this hero, Diodorus glorifies his hometown and, concurrently, presents Heracles as a benefactor of mankind.

Heracles, according to Diodorus, operated around another lake, namely Lake Avernus in Italy. As noted in the previous chapter,[97] the hero "constructed works about the lake", acts reminiscent of the deeds of Agrippa, yet here we are concerned with the technological aspect of the task and with its advantages. Diodorus remarks that this lake, which is about five stades in circumference, once had an opening into the sea, but Heracles is said to have blocked the outlet and constructed the road which now runs along the sea and is called after him (IV.22.1–2). A description of Heracles' accomplishment may be found in other works. Strabo—who in fact places the whole incident in the neighbouring Lake Lucrinus but mentions both lakes of Acherusia and Avernus as a possible location—states that the Lucrinus is shut out from the external sea by

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94 Chrysas: Diod., XIV.95.2; cf. Cic., *Verr.* 2, IV.44.96; Sil., *Pun.*, XIV.229. Cyamosorus: Polyb., I.9.4. It is assumed that the modern Salso River is the ancient Cyamosorus which appears only in Polybius. See Smith 1856, s.v. Chrysas; Walbank 1957, vol. 1, p. 56. See also Talbert 2000, map. 47: one gets the impression that the district of Agyrium is rich in little creeks, of which the two mentioned are the largest. The formation of a reservoir in these conditions becomes more likely.

95 Lago di Pozzillo. See e.g. Trevelyan 1996, pp. 318–319.

96 See e.g. Henderson-Sellers 1979, p. 7.

97 See above, pp. 177–178.

a dike eight stades in length. Some say that Heracles completed its construction, when he was travelling with the cattle of Geryon. However, since in stormy weather the waves rise high above the surface of the dike, making it difficult to cross on foot, Agrippa repaired it. Florus adds that Agrippa also took care that the Lake Lucrinus would have an outlet into the sea, as he writes: since the path of the Herculean Way had been cut through and the shores had been dug up anew, Lake Lucrinus was turned into a harbour and Lake Avernus was added to it by removing the ground between.[98]

The theme is briefly mentioned by Lycophron and Propertius. Whereas Lycophron merely attests to the existence of a road paved by Heracles, Propertius states that Hercules' way lies at the shores near Baiae and that the road constructed by the labour of Hercules resonates (referring probably to the sound of the waves).[99] In all the above cited works Heracles is connected with the real features of the land. In contrast, both Virgil and Pliny completely ignore the myth in their descriptions of the site. Virgil, extolling the harbours of Italy, mentions a barrier added to Lake Lucrinus; Pliny counts this barrier among the noteworthy Roman enterprises. The dams which were built to separate the Tyrrhenian Sea from Lake Lucrinus appear in his list, along with the harbour of Ostia, the roads constructed through mountains and the expensive bridges.[100]

From the technological point of view, this is another example of the use of dikes in order to prevent the water from overflowing. The method resembles that employed by the Egyptians to cope with the flooding of the Nile and that used in Thessaly to deal with the inundations of the Peneius. As for the benefit which Heracles' deed in Lake Avernus offered the inhabitants, it presented both pedestrians and wagons with a convenient road. It is assumed that this road ran from Baiae to Puteoli. This region, as noted in the preceding chapter, became popular among the rich people of Rome.[101] Heracles' presence in it is attested by other authors, but Diodorus, inspired from the events of his days, introduces a new detail into the myth. Apart from his reference to the road built by Heracles, Diodorus states that the hero constructed works around Lake Avernus. It is possible that by writing κατεσκεύασεν ἔργα Diodorus had

[98] Strabo, V.4.6 C 245; Florus, II.18.8.6.

[99] Lycoph., *Alex.*, 697; Prop., I.11.2, III.18.4.

[100] Verg., *G.*, II.161; cf. *Aen.*, IX.710–712; Plin., *NH*, XXXVI.125.

[101] See above, pp. 179–181. For a thorough discussion of the region, including references to sources and studies, see pp. 175–182.

in mind the harbour built by Agrippa in both lakes Avernus and Lucrinus in preparation for the war against Sextus Pompey, as well as the canal cut to connect the two lakes and the road to pave the way from the Avernus to Cumae.

The effect of Agrippa's activity may also be traced in Diodorus' version of the myth of Semiramis. The path paved between Lake Avernus and Cumae was partly subterranean. One tunnel was cut through a mountain; another was dug through the *acropolis* of Cumae. Semiramis employed a similar technique in order to supply Ecbatana with water. According to Diodorus, since the city had been in need of water and had no spring in its vicinity, Semiramis brought to it with much hardship and at great expense an abundant supply of the best water. The work itself is also described: the Assyrian queen created a tunnel through the base of the Orontes Mountain which lies at a distance of twelve stades from Ecbatana; through this tunnel fifteen feet wide and forty feet high she brought into the city the river which flows from a great lake which lies on the other side of the mountain (II.13.6–8).

An attempt to find a record of an accomplishment comparable to that of Semiramis in other authors has failed. One may uncover references to water works (such as building dikes to prevent flooding caused by a river and diverting rivers to irrigate arid lands) ascribed to her, but no tunnel is mentioned.[102] However, the details given by Diodorus regarding the site where Semiramis operated correspond with those found in the ancient sources and with the features of the land. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions a mountain called Orontes and attests to its proximity to Ecbatana. Buckingham, travelling in the area at the beginning of the nineteenth century, identified the Orontes Mountain as Alvand (or Alwand) Mountain near Hamadan, that is Ecbatana. He maintains that the mountain is blessed with mines, an abundance of water and good plants and that a plain lay at its foot. Moreover, Buckingham emphasizes the need for water which the inhabitants of Hamadan constantly felt. Williams Jackson, visiting Persia at the beginning of the twentieth century, adds that, in the middle of the city, a river runs, but it disappears during spring time, merging with the melting snow of the Alvand, and is entirely dry during the summer. This river, he argues, was the work of Semiramis.[103]

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[102] See, for example, Hdt., I.184 (cf. *Suda*, s.v. Σεμίραμις); Polyaenus, *Strat.*, VIII.26; Lucian., *Syr. D.*, 33.

[103] Buckingham 1971, pp. 162–163; Williams Jackson 1906, pp. 146–148. See also Rawlinson n.d., vol. 2, pp. 262–263; Talbert 2000, map. 92.

The technique used by the queen was well known in antiquity. A good description of it may be found in Vitruvius, Diodorus' contemporary, who explains when and how to dig tunnels. The examples of Hezekiah's tunnel, named after the king of Judea who initiated its excavation from the Gihon spring to the Shiloah pool in order to bring water into the city of Jerusalem,[104] and the water system in Megiddo[105] further strengthen the theory that the deed assigned by Diodorus to Semiramis has close ties with reality. Older than these are the subterranean canals named *Qanat*. Originating in Armenia or in Persia, these tunnels were spread throughout the Persian Empire during the reign of the Achaemenids—namely, the geographical scene in which Semiramis operated—and were also uncovered in Arabia (perhaps by the time of Herodotus), and Megasthenes saw them in India.[106] It is worth mentioning the impressive canal system, both above and under the ground, of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, designed to increase the water flow to Nineveh.[107] Instances may also be found in the Greek and the Roman world. The Greeks used a similar technique to cut the famous tunnel in Samos,[108] yet it was the Romans who developed and improved the method. If Diodorus really travelled throughout the significant regions of which he later wrote, as he states (I.4.1), he might have seen with his own eyes at least some of the tunnels excavated by Agrippa. The first, already mentioned, ran from Lake Avernus to Cumae, designed to transport wood, equipment and men to Agrippa's new port; the second and the third were used to supply Rome with water. In 33 BCE, an aqueduct

[104] See *2 Kings*, 18.17, 20.20; *2 Chronicles*, 32.2–4, 30; *Isaiah*, 22.9–11. The pool of Shiloah and the tunnel still existed and functioned in the first century CE (*John*, 9.7; Joseph., *BJ*, V.4.2). See also Simons 1952, pp. 157–194; Kenyon 1979, pp. 290–291; Shiloh 1987, esp. pp. 215–222; Abells 1993, passim; Abells, Arbit 1994, passim; Abells, Arbit 1995, passim; Wikander 2000, p. 620. Studies in Hebrew are cited in my doctoral dissertation, Sulimani 2004, p. 393 n. 53.

[105] See e.g. Lamon 1935, pp. 1–37; Barrois 1937, pp. 237–244; Kenyon 1979, pp. 267–270, pl. 90; Shiloh 1987, esp. pp. 204–207 (and also his study in Hebrew cited in Sulimani 2004, p. 393 n. 54); Wikander 2000, p. 620.

[106] Persia: Polyb., X.28.2–4; Arabia: Hdt., III.9; India: Strabo, XV.1.50 C 707. See Wulff 1968, pp. 94–105; Hodge 1992, pp. 20–24; Forbes 1993, vol. 1, pp. 156–160; Hodge 2000a, pp. 35–38; Oleson 2000, pp. 196–197; Rawlinson n.d., vol. 2, pp. 291–292.

[107] See Luckenbill 1968, vol. 2, pp. 148–153; Smith 1972, pp. 9–12; Smith 1975, p. 78; Forbes 1993, vol. 1, pp. 159–163; Reade 2001, vol. 9, pp. 404–407.

[108] Hdt., III.60 and see Goodfield, Toulmin 1965, pp. 46–55; Kienast 1987, pp. 214–217; Hodge 1992, pp. 27–30; Hodge 2000b, pp. 42–45. For further examples: Bromehead 1942, pp. 183–184; Drower 1954, pp. 530–531; Smith 1975, pp. 74–79.

named Julia, partly subterranean, had been inaugurated and, in 21 BCE, another aqueduct, called Virgo, was dug underground for most of its route.[109]

Another enterprise of Semiramis is worth considering, even though she did not intend to confer benefits upon mankind in this particular case but to fulfil her own needs. Diodorus recounts that she built a square reservoir in the lowest level of Babylon, which was three hundred stades on each side and had a depth of thirty-five feet. It was made of baked brick and bitumen. Diverting the river to it, she built an underground passage from her palace on one bank of the Euphrates to that on the other. This vaulted tunnel was also made of baked brick and each of its sides covered with hot bitumen until the coating was four cubits thick. The walls of the tunnel were twenty bricks thick and twelve feet high, excluding the vaulted ceiling, and the width of it was fifteen feet. At each end of the passageway Semiramis set bronze gates which, according to Diodorus, stood until the time of the Persian rule. Having completed the work in seven days, she restored the river to its former channel and, since it flowed above the underground passage, she was able to go from one palace to the other without crossing the river (II.9.1–3).

One may find tasks such as building with bricks and bitumen and diverting rivers ascribed to Semiramis in other authorities. She diverted rivers to irrigate arid lands, as noted, a description handed down by Polyaenus. She also fortified Babylon with baked brick and bitumen (ὀπτῇ πλίνθῳ καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ), as narrated by the anonymous author of *Tractatus De Mulieribus Claris In Bello*.[110] His choice of words is interesting since he states that he gives the details "as Ctesias says" (ὥς φησι Κτησίας), while Diodorus, who also refers to this deed of the queen (II.7.4), writes that, cementing baked bricks with bitumen (ὀπτὰς δὲ πλίνθους εἰς ἄσφαλτον ἐνδησαμένη), she built a wall fifty fathoms high, as Ctesias says (ὡς μὲν Κτησίας φησί). The difference in their wording is obvious and may suggest that Diodorus did not copy his sources word for word.

[109] Frontin., *Aq.*, I.9–10, 18, II.125. For the Roman aqueducts see, for example, Bromehead 1942, pp. 184–188; Blake 1947, pp. 161–162, 265–267; Platner 1965, pp. 20–29, esp. s.v. Aqua Iulia, Aqua Virgo; Smith 1975, pp. 80–93; Landels 1978, pp. 34–53; Hodge 1992, passim.

[110] Polyaenus, *Strat.*, VIII.26. For the text of the anonymous author, see Gera 1997, p. 6.

The wall of Babylon, built by Semiramis of bricks and bitumen, is mentioned by many authors; some of them count it among the Seven Wonders of the World.[111] Yet a task which involves a reservoir and a tunnel such as that described by Diodorus appears elsewhere only in Philostratus. The latter states that Medea (his name for Semiramis) diverted the Euphrates into lakes and, when the river was dry, she constructed a tunnel covered with bitumen which connected her palaces on both banks of the river. While the bitumen was still soft, the river was restored to its original course and, flowing on top of the roof of the tunnel, it made the layer solid. The materials which she used—stones, bitumen and bronze—also resemble Diodorus' version.[112]

Baked bricks and bitumen are what makes Semiramis' enterprise unique. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the ancients knew how to divert rivers and to build reservoirs. They were also aware of the advantages of subterranean passages. The discussion of the distinctive motifs of Diodorus' sources (in chapter two of the first part) has shown that using bitumen for building is typical of Babylon and its surroundings.[113] Diodorus himself describes the abundance of this material in Babylonia, highlighting the variety of its applications (II.12.1–2). Vitruvius describes a lake called "Asphaltites Lake" near Babylon, Strabo also attests to the great quantity of bitumen in the area, while Pliny adds that the material was imported by states which lacked it.[114]

Diodorus was obviously familiar with the various uses of bitumen. According to him, it was used for building (appearing also as one of the materials of which the walls around the palaces of Semiramis had been made, II.8.4, 8.7), for fuel (the people of Babylonia dried bitumen and burned it instead of wood, II.12.1), as a medicine (it was an ingredient in a remedy for the enfeebled condition of the body, III.47.3), and as a waterproofing material, the case with which we are interested here. The use of bitumen to prevent leakage had been known to mankind from time immemorial. Noah's ark had been coated in pitch and so had the craft in which Moses was put; the inhabitants of Babylonia made waterproof vessels of reeds coated with asphalt; the chasms and lakes on the banks

[111] Vitr., *De Arch.*, VIII.3.8; Iust., I.2.7; Curt., V.1.16, 1.24–25; Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.23; Hyg., *Fab.*, CCXXIII.6.

[112] Philostr., *VA*, I.25.

[113] See above, pp. 61–62.

[114] Vitr., *De Arch.*, VIII.3.8; Strabo, XVI.1.15 C 743; Plin., *NH*, II.235, XXXV.178; cf. Hdt., I.179; Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.15–16; Diosc., I.99.

of the Euphrates were built of baked bricks cemented together with bitumen. These examples show that Semiramis' use of bitumen tallies both with the region in which she operated and with the nature of her enterprise.[115]

The same is true of baked bricks. The builders of the Tower of Babel used these bricks: "And they said unto one another, go to, let us make bricks, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar".[116] In a detailed description of Babylon, Herodotus states that the inhabitants made bricks of the earth and baked them in ovens. With these, using hot bitumen for cement, they constructed the walls of the city and a fence along each bank of the river. Strabo maintains that the foundations of the Hanging Garden which were covered deep with earth were made of baked bricks and asphalt and the tomb of Belus was a quadrangular pyramid of baked bricks. Diodorus argues that Alexander the Great, having destroyed the walls of Babylon, collected baked bricks.[117]

Thus the materials used by Semiramis for the building both of the reservoir and the tunnel coincide with reality. The archaeological findings also confirm this, for fragments of baked bricks and bitumen were found among the ruins of Babylon. There is no sign, however, of a tunnel. Some scholars claim that since the tunnel is mentioned only by Philostratus and Diodorus, and not by Herodotus, it was invented by Ctesias. For it is inconceivable that Herodotus, having depicted at length Babylon and its buildings, chose to omit such an impressive enterprise.[118] Even if this is the case, Diodorus' version has a ring of truth. First, the characteristics of the site and the problem which the tunnel was intended to solve agree with the real features of the area. Herodotus also noticed the difficulties encountered by the inhabitants as they crossed the river by boat in order to move from one side of the city to the other. According to him, however, it was Nitocris, Semiramis' successor to the throne, who helped the people of Babylon by building a bridge above the Euphrates.[119]

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[115] *Genesis*, VI.14; *Exodus*, II.3; Strabo, XVI.1.9 C 740, 1.17 C 743; Curt., V.1.28–29. See Forbes 1954, pp. 250–256; Forbes 1993, vol. 1, pp. 23–44, 74–80, 90–95; Moorey 1999, esp. pp. 332–335, 356–357.

[116] *Genesis*, 11.3: "ויאמרו איש אל רעהו הבה נלבנה לבנים ונשרפה לשריפה ותהי להם הלבנה לאבן והחימר היה להם לחומר."

[117] Hdt., I.179–180; Strabo, XVI.1.5 C 738; Diod., XVII.115.1. See also Moorey 1999, pp. 302–309.

[118] Rawlinson n.d., vol. 2, pp. 510–540; Rich 1815, esp. pp. 20, 29; Rich 1818, passim.

[119] Hdt., I.186.

Secondly, the raw materials and the technology employed by Semiramis were both in existence.

The fact that the cultural missions of Diodorus' heroes are mainly concerned with agriculture should not surprise us. A man who sets out to benefit a society whose economy is based primarily on agriculture is likely to deal first and foremost with agricultural issues. Hence Diodorus' mythological figures, having a close connection with reality, would do the same. Accordingly, these gods and heroes made an effort to improve the cultivation of wheat, barley and vine, to take care of the water supply, *et cetera*.

Agriculture continued to be as important in the Hellenistic period as it had been before.[120] The number of literary works composed during the Hellenistic age on the subject is voluminous. Kings such as Attalus Philometor of Cappadocia, Antiochus of Syria and Deiotarus of Bithynia were engaged in writing manuals for farming or in encouraging the writing of such guidebooks. Diophanes dedicated his Greek translation of the treatise of the Carthaginian Mago to Deiotarus, yet Cassius Dionysius had translated it before him, dedicating his translation to a Roman praetor. Both translations are dated to the first century BCE. The works in Latin include those of the elder Cato and Varro.[121] The latter wrote in Diodorus' day and so did Virgil, whose *Georgicon* was published in 29 BCE. The list is long (it is given by Varro),[122] but the treatises mentioned here prove that Diodorus' great interest in agriculture corresponds with the spirit of his times.

The Hellenistic focus on agriculture was not merely theoretical. As previously noted, kings and rulers were involved in the actual development

120 The Greek agricultural orientation is echoed in the *Odyssey* (e.g. VI.4–10), and in Hesiod's *Works and days* (e.g. 225–247) (see also Vidal-Naquet 1981, pp. 80–94). The significance of agriculture and its position as a basic industry among the pre-hellenistic Greeks are attested to, for instance, by the constant yearning of states and individuals to possess their own arable lands. The geographical and topographical features of Greece, which made this wish difficult to accomplish, instigated the expeditions overseas (the so-called colonization) and the revolutionary demands for re-distribution of land (γῆς ἀναδασμός) within the individual city-states. This is not the place to elaborate on the causes of Greek colonization, yet it is quite obvious that the motivation, at least at the beginning of the movement, was partly agrarian (e.g. Thuc., I.15.1; Pl., *Leg.*, 708b, 740e). See, among others, Garnsey 1988; Isager, Skydsgaard 1992; Burford 1993 and, for colonization, also Gwynn 1918, pp. 88–123; Dunbabin 1948; Graham 1964.

121 Attalus: Varro, *Rust.*, I.1.8; Plin., *NH*, XVIII.22. Antiochus: Plin., *NH*, XVIII.294. Deiotarus and the translations: Varro, *Rust.*, I.1.10.

122 Varro, *Rust.*, I.1.8–10.

of various aspects of farming. Another example is the considerable activity in Rome during the time of Diodorus, namely the place of agriculture and its products in the struggles of the late republic. In 62 BCE, for instance, as a reaction to Caesar's actions, Cato the Younger suggested an allotment of grain to the poor and the landless at public expense in an effort to conciliate them. About four years later, the popular assembly agreed to Clodius' proposal for the distribution of free grain to the poor. In 57 BCE, due to a famine which had befallen Rome, Pompey was assigned the supervision of the grain supply for five years. Receiving a budget from the senate, he sent his men to various states with orders to obtain wheat, while he himself went to the most important of these, namely Sicily, Sardinia and Africa. Caesar added two *aediles*, entrusting them with the grain supply. After his death, as part of the precautions taken by the senate to prevent the rise of individuals into power, it was decided that one man alone should not supervise either the grain or the food supply. Annexing Egypt, Octavian began recovering the land so that it would be fertile and provide Rome with the necessary wheat.[123] These events took place in the time in which Diodorus was writing his *Bibliotheke*.[124]

Foundation of Cities

Apart from Sesostris, each of the wandering gods and heroes was engaged in the establishment of cities. Three of them accomplished this mission—which is, again, a reflection of Diodorus' day—in their homelands, but most of the new cities were founded abroad. To begin with cities of the first kind, Osiris founded a city with a hundred gates in the Egyptian Thebaid. At first it had been named after his mother but in later times people used to call it either Diospolis or Thebes. There is no agreement, according to Diodorus, regarding the date of the establishment of this city; some even argue that it was not Osiris, but a later king, who founded it. Keeping his promise to deal with this issue again, Diodorus adds later in his first book that a descendant of Busiris established the city which

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[123] Cato: Plut., *Cat. Min.*, 26.1, *Caes.*, 8.4. Clodius: Cic., *Dom.*, 25. Pompey: Cic., *Dom.*, 5, 10–11, 25, *Att.*, IV.1, *Q Fr.*, II.5.1; Liv., *Epit.*, 104; Plut., *Pomp.*, 49.4–50.2; Dio, XXXIX.9.2–3. Caesar: Dio, XLIII.51.3. Senate: Dio, XLVI.39.3. Octavian: Suet., *Aug.*, 18.2. For further reading and other instances involving agriculture in the first century BCE, see Rickman 1980, pp. 50–66.

[124] For the discussion of Diodorus' period of composition, see above, Part I Chapter 1, pp. 30–37.

the Egyptians call Diospolis but among the Greeks it is called Thebes (I.15.1–2, 45.4). Semiramis, eager by her nature for great exploits and wishing to surpass the fame of her predecessor, decided to found a city in Babylonia. Following this statement, Diodorus embarks upon a detailed description of Babylon, emphasizing its size and eminence (II.7.2–10.6). Myrina and the Amazons, having subdued all the towns of the island of Hespera and many of the neighbouring Libyans tribes, founded within the marsh Tritonis a great city named Cherronesus (peninsula) after its shape (III.53.6).

The establishment of these cities by Semiramis and Myrina marks the beginning of their journey in the world. In fact, Babylon and Cherronesus had been the starting-point of these heroines and as such they were mentioned in the previous chapter. As pointed out, while Babylon was a notable city, Cherronesus appears in no other authority. Nevertheless, Diodorus may well have thought that it was a real city situated in Lake Tritonis, which is nowadays called Shott-el-Jerid.[125] Thebes/Diospolis, on the other hand, was founded before Osiris set out from Egypt. Diodorus himself offers a detailed description of it: the city was famed for its size, wealth and prosperity; it was adorned with remarkable buildings, temples and various monuments. In addition, there were in the city tombs of early kings of which only fifteen remained and, according to Diodorus, most of them were in ruins at the time of his visit to the region (I.45.4–46.8). Homer, referring to the city's treasures and gates,[126] is also cited by Diodorus and the same verses are quoted by Strabo who came to the place in the company of Aelius Gallus. Emphasizing the riches of Thebes—which in his own days was called Diospolis—and depicting its buildings, the geographer names the city a metropolis.[127] One gets the impression that this was one of Egypt's main cities. Thus it seems to have much in common with Babylon. As for Cherronesus, although it remains unknown, Diodorus' remark that it was a great city hints that, in his eyes, the status of this city in Libya was equal to that of Babylon in Assyria and Thebes in Egypt.

The purpose of the foundation of these cities is quite clear. Osiris, Semiramis and Myrina wished to adorn their countries and to increase their own fame by establishing a prosperous and famous city. Diodorus expresses this explicitly with regard to Semiramis, saying that it was her

[125] See the previous chapter, p. 166 and n. 2.
[126] Hom., *Il.*, IX.381–384.
[127] Strabo, XVII.1.46 C 815–816.

desire to surpass the fame of her predecessor. In the story of Myrina, the author alludes to another intention, arguing that the newly-established city was intended to strengthen the Amazons' rule in the conquered region. This purpose is to be seen more clearly in the foundation of other cities by Myrina, which leads us to a discussion of the second type of cities, those established abroad.

Having subjugated Asia Minor, Myrina had selected sites suitable for the founding of cities and built great many of them. One of them was named after her; others bore the names of women who held the high commands in her army, such as Cyme, Pitana and Priene. Apart from these cities which lay along the sea, Myrina founded a large number of cities in the hinterland. Seizing some islands as well, she founded in Lesbos a city called Mitylene after her sister who took part in the campaign (III.55.6–7). The apparent connection between Myrina's conquests and the establishment of settlements suggests that these settlements were one of the means used by the queen to organize the occupied territory and to leave her mark on it. Osiris performed similarly in Thrace. Having slain Lycurgus, the local king, he left Maron to supervise the plants which he introduced into the land and caused him to found a city called Maroneia (I.20.2).

The names of the cities reveal yet another motive, i.e. a desire to commemorate the names of the founders and their relatives. Having defeated the inhabitants of Cerne in the land of the Atlantians,[128] Myrina acted savagely towards them, razing their city to the ground. However, when the other cities surrendered of their own free will, Myrina showed kindness towards the Atlantians; she established a friendship with them and founded a city to bear her name on the site of the ruined Cerne, populating it both with the captives and those of the natives who wished to do so (III.54.5). In this case, Myrina had additional aims in founding the city. She obviously wanted to make a gesture towards the conquered people and to recover her image among them, as well as to settle the fugitives of the destroyed city.

Heracles, too, allowed natives to settle in a city which he had founded. Since a large number of men had joined his army of their own accord, Heracles established a great city, naming it Alesia after the wandering on his campaign (ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν ἄλης). Having settled his soldiers in the new city, he integrated many of the natives with

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[128] For Cerne and its significance as a trading-post, see the preceding chapter, pp. 200–203.

them and, since the number of the local inhabitants surpassed the others, all the residents of the city were barbarized. Diodorus adds that the Celts up to his own days consider Alesia the heart of Celtica and a major city (μητρόπολις). Moreover, from the time of Heracles onwards Alesia remained free and was never destroyed. Julius Caesar was the first who defeated it and brought it together with the rest of the Celts under Roman sway (IV.19.1–2, cf. V.24.2). Heracles' aim was to settle his veterans yet, in addition, an assimilation of cultures occurred. The name of the city indicates that he sought to commemorate his expedition.

A meaningful name was also granted by Dionysus to a city which he founded. Returning favours to the land of his birth, he liberated all the cities of Boeotia and established a city called Eleutherae to signify the independence he had granted them (IV.2.6). Thus the god intended to show his gratitude to his homeland through the liberation of the Boeotians but also through the foundation of a city, using its name to commemorate the liberty. The practice of establishing a city out of gratitude to a place which is connected with the hero's past may also be traced in the legend of Osiris. He founded not a few cities in India, naming one of them Nysa as a memorial of the city near Egypt where he had been brought up. He also planted ivy near the new Nysa as part of the commemoration (I.19.7). Dionysus' rebuilding the city of Ammon in Libya is another instance which reveals a link between the foundation of a city and the hero's past. The Libyans told Dionysus that when his father, Ammon, had been driven from his kingdom, he had foretold to the inhabitants that his son Dionysus would recover the kingdom and that, becoming the ruler of the entire inhabited world, he would be considered a god. Hearing this prophecy, Dionysus rebuilt the city, established there the oracle of his father and gave orders to honour him as a god (III.73.1).[129] The religious motive reappears in Diodorus' description of the urban activities of Dionysus. The god became the founder of notable cities by conveying villages to well-situated places. Moreover, he taught them to honour the deity and introduced laws and courts (II.38.5). One gets the impression that, organized in cities, the population was relatively easy to civilize.[130]

[129] For further discussion of the oracle of Ammon and the esteem in which it was held in the Hellenistic era, see the preceding chapter, pp. 195–198.

[130] Cf., *mutatis mutandis*, the opening paragraph of Aristotle's *Politics*: the *polis* is the most supreme of all associations and aims at the most supreme of all goods.

Semiramis was also the founder of many cities. During her travels through flat areas she made mounds which she used either as tombs for her dead generals or established cities over their tops (II.14.1). In addition, she founded cities along the Euphrates and the Tigris in which she established trading-places for those who brought merchandise from Media, Paraetacene and the neighbouring regions. Here Diodorus explicitly refers to the purpose of the establishment and further strengthens it in the following paragraphs, in which he depicts the route of the Euphrates and the Tigris from their sources in the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf, including a detailed list of countries through which they flow. He sums up by stating that since these rivers are great and traverse a large territory they offer many advantages to those who wish to engage in trade. Consequently, the districts along their banks are filled with prosperous trading-places (II.11.1–3).

Like Semiramis, Heracles was inspired by the nature of the site which he visited, yet his objective in founding his city was other than commercial. Making his way through the arid part of Libya, he arrived at a well-watered and fertile region where he founded a city which was astonishing in its size. He called it Hecatompylus because of the multitude of its gates (IV.18.1). The desire to exploit a fruitful place, therefore, joins the list of the heroes' intentions as they set out for their urban enterprise.

Two questions are in order now. The first concerns the purposes of Diodorus' heroes: do these correspond with the objectives which dictated the foundation of cities in the Hellenistic era? The second question relates to the specific cities mentioned by Diodorus in his version of the legends: what was their status during Hellenistic times and what motivated the author to introduce them into the itineraries of his heroes? To begin with the latter, except for Cherronesus, all the cities which appear by name are real. Most of them were ages old, founded long before the coming of Alexander the Great. Only a few of them were built—or, to be precise, rebuilt—after Alexander's death. Babylon, as pointed out in the previous chapter,[131] became a Greek *polis* possibly earlier than the reign of Antiochus IV. Alesia was a Gallic settlement which became a Roman town after Julius Caesar had conquered it in a fierce battle, a battle which marked the end of the Gallic war and soon found a place in the

[131] See the discussion of Babylon above, pp. 208–212 (esp. p. 209, for the foundation of the *polis*).

hall of fame.[132] Hecatompylus, as also noted in the preceding chapter,[133] is identified with Capsa in Libya. It had been captured by Marius and later was razed by Caesar. Yet between these events it had been restored and became, so it seems, a prosperous city. It is possible that the Romans had similar intentions concerning Myrina in Libya which had been built on the site of the ruined city of Cerne. As discussed, the island, and perhaps a city by the same name, was a trading-post until the destruction of Carthage. The efforts of Scipio Aemilianus to renew the commercial activities in the region, sending there Polybius with a fleet, failed. It must be pointed out, however, that the name "Myrina" appears in connection with Cerne only in Diodorus.

As for Myrina in Asia Minor, this city was one of the main *poleis* on the west coast of the land. Like Cyme, Pitana and Priene, it was also one of the oldest Greek colonies in the region.[134] It has been suggested that Alexan-

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[132] For Caesar's description of the city and the battle, see *BGall.*, VII.69–88, 90, VIII.14, 34. This account and others—which refer to the city's favoured site, strength and significance—confirm that Diodorus combined historical data in his mythological tale. See also Strabo, IV.2.3 C 191; Liv., *Epit.*, 108; Vell. Pat., II.47.1; Tac., *Ann.*, XI.23.7; Plut., *Caes.*, 27.1, 3; Dio, XL.39.3–41.3; Florus, I.45.10.23; Oros., VI.11; Polyaenus, *Strat.*, VIII.23.11. Among the studies one may find Rice Holmes 1892, vol. 2, pp. 206–208, 211–221; Fuller 1965, pp. 146–158; Harmand 1967a, passim; Harmand 1967b, pp. 956–986; Balsdon 1967, pp. 100–103; Grant 1969, pp. 136–138, 179; Gelzer 1969, pp. 161–163; Rice Holmes 1971, pp. 165–180, 804–820; Meier 1995, pp. 322–327. The contribution of the site of Alesia—nowadays Alise-Sainte-Reine, a little village in France—to the study of the Roman urbanization is vital, as it is to the examination of the impact of the Roman culture on the Gauls and of their daily life under Roman rule. See e.g. Hatt 1970, pp. 20, 126, 209, 273 and elsewhere; Rice Holmes 1971, pp. 354–363; Martin 1973, passim; Chevallier 1975, pp. 949–957; Drinkwater 1983, pp. 75, 134, 151–155; Woolf 1998, pp. 115, 118, 133, 141; Bedon 1999, pp. 30–33, 40–43, 49.

[133] See above, pp. 171–175.

[134] See Hdt., I.145–146, V.69, VII.176, VIII.44, 73; Strabo, VIII.7.2 C 384, XIII.1.3 C 582, 3.3 C 621, XIV.1.3 C 633, 1.12 C 636; Paus., VII.2.8–10, and Cook 1962, pp. 23–27; Hansen 1971, pp. 4–5; Boardman 1999, pp. 23–33 and also Hanfmann 1953, pp. 1–37; Roebuck 1961, pp. 495–507. See also the interesting journey of Marozzi 2008, pp. 31–66 in this area, following the footsteps of Herodotus. The importance of each of the four cities mentioned by Diodorus is attested to by a variety of sources and examined by various scholars:

Myrina: Hdt., I.149; Strabo, XI.5.4 C 505, XII.3.21 C 550, 8.6 C 573, XIII.3.5–6 C 622–623; Plin., *NH*, V.121; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog.*, I.90; Ptol., *Geog.*, V.2.6; Steph. Byz., s.v.; Scylax, 98 (Müller); Eust., *Comm.*, 828 (Müller). See also Sayce 1882, pp. 218–227; Bean 1939, pp. 80–83; Magie 1950, vol. 1, p. 84, vol. 2, pp. 782 n. 3, 794–795 n. 19, 906 n. 126. For the archaeological evidence, see Burr 1934, passim; Broughton 1959, p. 832; Burr Thompson 1963, e.g. pp. 22–29, 32–33, 39–40, 50–52, 63–64, 124–126; Hansen 1971, pp. 387–389; Kassab 1988, passim.

Cyme: Hdt., I.149; Strabo, XI.5.4 C 505, XII.3.21 C 550, XIII.3.6 C 622–623; Plin., *NH*, V.121; Ptol., *Geog.*, V.2.6; Steph. Byz., s.v.; Eust., *Comm.*, 828 (Müller). For the site

der visited Priene and that he was responsible for rebuilding it.[135] Inscriptions indicate that he let those of the inhabitants who were Prienian citizens retain their real estate, while decreeing that certain villages in which non-citizens dwelled would be royal domain; the latter had to pay tribute, but the residents of the city itself were exempted. In Priene he also dedicated a new temple to Athena Polias.[136] All four cities attracted Hellenistic rulers, such as the Ptolemies, Seleucids and Antigonids; later the Romans struggled for power in Asia Minor and, in particular, on its west coast. There are many instances to illustrate this zeal to master the Greek cities of Asia Minor. One may look, for example, into the preliminaries of the war between the Romans and Antiochus III: the contents of the treaty signed by Antiochus III and Philip V against the young Ptolemy Epiphanes—whether authentic or false—show the interest of the Macedonian king in Caria, Ionia and the adjacent islands; the demands made by the Roman legates in Lysimacheia, ordering Antiochus to withdraw from the cities which were previously under Ptolemaic rule and from those evacuated by Philip V after the Romans had defeated him, demonstrate the Roman aspirations in Asia Minor; and finally, Antiochus' argument on the same occasion, according to which all his conquests both in Asia Minor and Europe were justified since the cities had belonged to his ancestors in accordance with the laws of war, prove an endless Seleucid

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and history of the city, see e.g. Bean 1939, pp. 72–74, 77–78, 97–98; Magie 1950, vol. 1, p. 84; Broughton 1959, p. 717; Cook, Blackman 1964–1965, pp. 36–37; Cook, Blackman 1970–1971, p. 37; Ma 1999, pp. 282–283.

Pitana: Hdt., I.149; Ov., *Met.*, VII.357; Strabo, XIII.1.2 C 581, 1.51 C 607, 1.67 C 614; Plin., *NH*, V.122; Ptol., *Geog.*, V.2.6; Steph. Byz., s.v.; Scylax, 98 (Müller). See Bean 1939, pp. 87–90.

Priene: Hdt., I.141–143, 148, 170, VI.7; Diod., XV.49.1; Vitr. *De Arch.*, IV.1.4–5; Strabo, VIII.7.2 C 384, XIV.1.3 C 633, 1.12 C 636, 1.20 C 639; Plin., *NH*, V.113; Paus., VII.2.10; Diog. Laert., I.83; Ael., *VH*, VIII.5; Scylax, 98 (Müller); Eust., *Comm.*, 823 (Müller). For a description of the site and the ruins of the city, see Bean 1939, pp. 161–180; Roebuck 1959, 9–10, 12–13; Wycherley 1962, pp. 25–29; Cook 1962, pp. 181–186; Schede 1964, passim; Cook, Blackman 1964–1965, pp. 49–50; Chandler 1971, esp. pp. 146–153; Raeder 1984, passim; Hoepfner, Schwandner 1986, esp. pp. 141–186. For further discussion, see Dmitriev 2005, pp. 76–88 and passim. Priene is the best example available today of learning about the way in which a Greek city was built.

[135] Bean 1939, p. 162; Hornblower 1982, pp. 110–111, 314, 323–330.

[136] *OGIS*, 1 = Hiller 1906, no. 1 = Heisserer 1980, p. 146 = Tod 1985, no. 185; *SIG*[3], 277 = Hiller 1906, no. 156 = Heisserer 1980, p. 143 = Tod 1985, no. 184. Cf. Paus., VII.5.5. For a discussion of these inscriptions and the difficulties in dating them, see Heisserer 1980, pp. 142–168; Hornblower 1982, pp. 163, 323–330; Carter 1983, pp. 25–30 and also Tarn 1948, vol. 1, pp. 34–35; Cohen 1995, pp. 187–188.

yearning to dominate these areas.[137] Myrina, Cyme, Pitana and Priene lay in these disputed territories. Two of them, Myrina and Cyme, were specifically mentioned in the Roman treaties with both defeated kings, Philip V (Myrina) and Antiochus III (Cyme).[138] Moreover, both cities appeared earlier as two which had voluntarily accepted the rule of Attalus of Pergamum, another king who sought influence among the Greek *poleis* along the eastern coast of the Aegean Sea.[139]

Mitylene was the greatest city of Lesbos. It was strong and prosperous, well-situated and magnificently built. Its praises, therefore, were sung by the ancient authors.[140] Alexander sent two of his generals to seize the city, which had been conquered earlier by Memnon, the Persian commander. The submission of Mitylene led to the surrender of the entire island and Alexander rewarded the Mitylenians with both money and lands. In line with the Lesbians' resistance to Rome's increasing intervention in the East, Mitylene supported Mithridates and even handed over to him a Roman legate. As a consequence, it was ravaged by a Roman army in which Julius Caesar was one of the officers. This incident did not prevent Pompey from visiting the city on his way back to Rome. He granted it its freedom and received a warm welcome on returning to it during the Civil War. His son Sextus, fleeing from his enemies, also visited Mitylene, which remembered his father's benevolent act. Finally, Agrippa, Augustus' close friend, arrived at Mitylene at his request, having retired from political life.[141]

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[137] Treaty of the kings: Polyb., III.2.8, XV.20.1–2; Liv., XXXI.14.5; App. *Mac.*, IV. Roman demands: Liv., XXXIII.39.4–9. Antiochus' argument: Liv., XXXIII.40.1–6.

[138] Myrina: Polyb., XVIII.44.4; Liv., XXXIII.30.3; Cyme: Polyb., XXI.45.4; Liv., XXXVIII.39.8.

[139] Polyb., V.77.4. Smyrna which appears in the Polybian text is amended to Myrina; see Magie 1950, vol. 2, p. 939 n. 36. For the desires and the actions of the Attalids in the region, see Hansen 1971, passim.

[140] Strabo, XIII.2.2 C 617; Plin., *NH*, V.139; Steph. Byz., s.v. For the praises, see Hom., *Od.*, IV.342, XVII.133; Cic., *Leg. Agr.* (*contra Rullum*), II.16; Vitr., *De Arch.*, I.6.1. For further indications of the city's strong position, see e.g. Thuc., II.9, III.2, 8–15, 29, 35–50, VIII.5, 22–23, 32, 100; Xen., *Hell.*, I.6.15–28; Diod., XII.42.5, 55.1–10, XIII.38.7, 49.3, 64.1, 76.5, XVII.29.2; Strabo, XIII.1.49 C 605, 51 C 607, 2.3 C 618.

[141] Alexander: Arr., III.2.4–6; Curt., III.1.19, IV.5.19, 8.13; cf. Diod., XVII.29.2, 31.3. Mithridates: Diod., XXXVII.27.1; Liv., *Epit.*, 89; Vell. Pat., II.18.3; App., *Mith.*, 21; Suet., *Iul.*, 2. Pompey: Plut., *Pomp.*, 42, 74–75; App., *Bciv.*, II.83. Sextus Pompey: App., *Bciv.*, V.133; Dio, XLIX.17.4–5. Agrippa: Tac., *Ann.*, XIV.53; Suet., *Aug.*, 66, *Tib.*, 10. For the archaeological findings, see Williams 1985, pp. 225–233; 1986, pp. 141–154; 1987, pp. 247–262; 1988, pp. 135–149; 1989, pp. 167–181; 1990, pp. 181–193; 1991, pp. 175–191. See also Mason 1993, pp. 225–250.

Maroneia on the Thracian coast had been, as noted,[142] under the control of the Ptolemies, but later became a bone of contention between Macedon and Rome. Eleutherae, on the other hand, was an ancient Greek *polis* which played no significant role among Hellenistic kings and rulers. Allowing myself a certain degree of speculation, one anecdote may be introduced here to raise the possibility that Diodorus might have heard the name of Eleutherae while working on his *Bibliotheke* in Rome. A statue of Apollo made by Myron of Eleutherae, a famous sculptor of the fifth century BCE, was taken from Ephesus by Antony but restored to the city by Octavian after the battle of Actium. Myron was known to the Romans for another sculpture of his, one of Heracles, which stood in the house of Pompey at the Circus Maximus. It may be that Diodorus, like the Romans of his time heard the story due to the "juicy" details involved in it. It is said, for instance, that Antony granted the treasures which he had robbed from the cities of Asia Minor to Cleopatra, in whose palace many valuable artefacts were found after the conquest of Egypt. It is also said that Octavian returned the statue to Ephesus in obedience to a warning given to him in a dream.[143]

Like the city of Ammon in Libya discussed in the previous chapter,[144] Nysa in India became celebrated in the Hellenistic period owing to Alexander's visit. According to Curtius Rufus, Justin and Arrian, he arrived at the city of Nysa at the foot of Mount Merus in India, which had been founded by Dionysus. Interestingly, Arrian adds that the inhabitants of Nysa were not of an Indian race but among those who had come with Dionysus to India; some of them were Greeks, serving as soldiers in his army, whom he settled in the city together with volunteers of the neighbouring tribes.[145] Finally, Thebes/Diospolis was important enough for authors such as Diodorus and Strabo to visit it while travelling in Egypt.[146]

The above survey shows that the cities which the heroes established were not only real but also involved (to a certain degree) in the occurrences of the Hellenistic era. However, Diodorus ascribes to his heroes

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[142] See the preceding chapter, p. 170.

[143] Plin., *NH*, XXXIV.57–58; Dio, LI.17.6; cf. *Mon. Anc.*, 24.1.

[144] See pp. 195–198 (also mentioned above in this chapter, p. 268).

[145] Curt., VIII.10.1, 7, 11–12; Iut., XII.7.4–6; Arr., V.1.1–3, VI.2.3, VIII.1.4–6, 5.9. Cf. Philostr., *VA*, II.8–10, according to whom Nysa is a mountain, not a city, which Alexander and his army reached. Yet he also alludes to a city by the same name. See also the previous chapter, p. 167 n. 3.

[146] Diod., I.46.7; Strabo, XVII.1.46 C 816.

the foundation of famous and important cities, but not necessarily those which were built or rebuilt in his own age. To put it more bluntly, Osiris founded the old Pharaonic city of Thebes but not Alexandria, built in Egypt by Alexander the Great,[147] while Heracles established Hecatompylus/Capsa, which Julius Caesar destroyed,[148] but not Carthage or Corinth, although these were rebuilt by the Roman dictator.[149] Additionally, Diodorus is not entirely original, since the foundation of cities such as Babylon and Hecatompylus/Capsa was attributed respectively to Semiramis and Heracles by other authors,[150] yet he is also creative, as his tale of the establishment of Alesia by Heracles clearly demonstrates.

Turning to the first question posed earlier, the similarities between the heroes' purposes in founding cities and those of historical figures of the Hellenistic period are quite noticeable. Like Osiris and Myrina, Alexander wished to establish his rule in the conquered regions through new cities. It seems that Alexandria in Ariana and Alexandria at the foot of the Caucasus (Hindu-Kush) were intended to strengthen Macedonian control over the mountainous and inhospitable land as well as to dominate the route leading from East to West in the western part of the Hindu-Kush.[151] Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes was meant, *inter alia*, to be used as a headquarters in a future invasion of Scythia and to protect the regions already occupied from the attacks of tribes dwelling across the river.[152]

In addition, in Alexandria Eschate Alexander settled Greek mercenaries, Macedonian veterans and those of the neighbouring tribes who so desired. In Alexandria near the Caucasus he settled soldiers who were no longer fit for service, as well as some of the local inhabitants. In the cities which he established in India and in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf

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[147] See below, p. 275.
[148] See the previous chapter, p. 174.
[149] See below, p. 279.
[150] Babylon: Iust., I.2.7; Hyg., *Fab.*, CCLXXV.7; cf. *Suda*, s.v. Σεμίϱαμις. Capsa: Sall. *Iug.*, 89.4; Florus, I.36.1.14; Oros., V.15.8.
[151] Alexandria in Ariana: Strabo, XI.8.9 C 514; Plin., *NH*, VI.61; Amm. Marc., XXIII. 6.69; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλεξάνδϱειαι. Alexandria at the foot of the Caucasus: Diod., XVII.83.1; Curt., VII.3.23; Plin., *NH*, VI.61; Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, I.5 (*Mor.*, 328f). See Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 234, 241, 246–248, 256–257; Tarn 1951, pp. 97–98, 461–462; Fraser 1999, pp. 175–176.
[152] Arr., IV.1.3–4; cf. Plin., *NH*, VI.49; App., *Syr.*, 57; Ptol., *Geog.*, VI.12.6, VIII.23.14; *Alexander-Romance*, III.35. See Fraser 1999, pp. 151–153, 176, 186 and also Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 234–235, 243–244, for the use of the name "Scythia" by the ancient authors to describe the land in which the city was built. The Romance of Alexander is cited according to its Greek version: Kroll 1958.

he acted similarly.[153] This recalls Heracles' operation in Alesia, where soldiers who joined his army were integrated with the natives. Myrina, too, merged two different groups of people, settling captives together with local inhabitants who wished to do so in her eponymous city in the land of the Atlantians.

According to Arrian, in founding Alexandria Eschate, Alexander hoped that it would become a prosperous city. As it happened, the city turned out to be a thriving trade-centre due to its location on the bank of the Jaxartes River, which was not only the route of Sogdiana's commercial activity, but also one through which merchants coming from the North and the East passed.[154] Yet the best example of a city established for commercial purposes, like those founded by Semiramis along the Euphrates and the Tigris, was Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander gave orders to build the city on a site suitable for a harbour and anticipated the growth and the prosperity of this city due to its natural features.[155] He had the same thoughts regarding the village of Rhambacia in the land of the Oreitans. His decision to build a city there, and the information concerning the trade of spices and various herbs prevailing in the region, suggest that the new city was intended to be the centre of this trade.[156] Furthermore, Arrian uses the term τὴν πόλιν ξυνοικίζειν in order to describe the mission entrusted to the man who had to build the city. This means that Alexander had to integrate various groups of people in one city, namely Greeks and Macedonians together with the local inhabitants, as he did elsewhere.[157] The fact that on this occasion a village is also mentioned, one which the king wished to turn into a city, may remind the reader of a deed which Diodorus ascribes to Dionysus, according to which the god founded notable cities from the existing villages (II.38.5). There is also a resemblance between the manner in which Alexandria-Rhambacia and Maroneia were founded (I.20.2): in both cases the kings appointed a delegate to continue the work on their behalf. Another trade city of Alexander may have been founded on the site of the city which was later called

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[153] Arr., IV.4.1, 22.5, V.29.3, VII.21.7. See Fraser 1999, pp. 185–187.

[154] Arr., IV.1.3–4; Fraser 1999, p. 176.

[155] Diod., XVII.52.1–6; Arr., III.1.5; *Alexander-Romance*, I.31.1–32.13, III.35; Plut., *Alex.*, 26.2–6; Curt., IV.8.1–6; Iust., XI.11.13. See Fraser 1972, vol. 1, pp. 3–7, 132–188; Fraser 1999, p. 175.

[156] Diod., XVII.104.8; Arr., VI.21.5, 22.3–8; Plin., *NH*, VI.97; Curt., IX.10.7. Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 241–242, 249–255; Fraser 1999, pp. 164–168, 173, 178.

[157] For the meaning of the Greek phrase, see Tarn 1948, vol. 2, p. 252; Fraser 1999, p. 185.

Charax Spaosinou, north of the Persian Gulf. Again, Alexander thought that the location was advantageous and, again, settled there natives with soldiers who had volunteered or were unfit for service.[158]

Founding Hecatompylus in Libya, Heracles exploited an irrigated and fertile land. Similarly, Alexander built Alexandria in Ariana, the modern Herat, in an oasis, and Alexandria in Arachosia, now Kandahar, on a good soil and near a river.[159] Regardless of the founders' aims, there is one feature shared by all the cities, be they those of Diodorus' heroes or those of Alexander: all the founders wished to commemorate their own names or those of their relatives. Myrina called two cities after herself; others after her sister and commanders in her army. Alexander also honoured a beloved one, naming a city in India Bucephala after his dead horse.[160] An illuminating example of this practice may be found in Seleucus Nicator. According to Appian, he called sixteen of the numerous cities built by him Antioch after his father, five Laodicea after his mother, nine Seleucia after himself and four Apamea and Stratonicea after his wives. He also showed his respect to Alexander, while granting other cities names borrowed from Greece and Macedon or some to commemorate his own achievements. Here, too, he followed in Alexander's footsteps, for the latter founded Nicaea in India in memory of his victory over the Indians.[161] In like manner Dionysus named a city after the freedom granted to the Boeotians and Heracles immortalized his wanderings in the name of Alesia, a city in Gaul.

The city in Diodorus' tales appears to be a source of cultural diffusion and a melting pot of diverse cultures. Dionysus issued laws, established courts of law and taught people to honour the gods in the cities which he had founded. Both Myrina and Heracles combined populations of different descent in their new settlements. Moreover, in one case, that of Alesia, Diodorus specifies the outcomes of this deed: the increase in the number

[158] Arr., VII.21.7, VIII.41.6–7; Plin., *NH*, VI.138–140. Fraser 1999, pp. 168–169, 179–180.

[159] Alexandria in Ariana: Strabo, XI.8.9 C 514; Plin., *NH*, VI.61; Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.69. Alexandria in Arachosia: Isidor. Char., *Parth.*, 19; Plin., *NH*, VI.92; Amm. Marc., XXIII.6.72; Ptol., *Geog.*, VI.20.4; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρειαι. See Fraser 1999, pp. 109–140, 172–173. Choosing a site for the founding of a city in which the soil is fertile and a source of water exists nearby is, of course, an ancient practice.

[160] Arr., V.19.4, 29.5; Curt., IX.3.23; Plin., *NH*, VI.77; Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, I.5 (*Mor.*, 328f); *Peripl. Mar. Eryth.*, 47; Ptol., *Geog.*, VII.1.46; *Alexander-Romance*, III.35. See Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 236–237; Fraser 1999, pp. 161–162, 173.

[161] Seleucus Nicator: App., *Syr.*, 57; cf. Malalas, VIII.12–20 (199–204). Alexander: Arr., V.19.4, 29.5; Curt., IX.3.23.

of the natives brought about the barbarization of the entire population of the city. Similar developments occurred in the Hellenistic reality, yet the "barbarians"—a term to be discussed in the following chapter[162]—did not necessarily have the upper hand. Alexander, as mentioned, settled soldiers and local inhabitants together in his cities. His conquests had brought the Greek culture into the Middle and the Far East and in due course this culture was spread among remote peoples. But did Alexander intentionally aim at expanding Greek culture through cities? Plutarch certainly thought so. He states that Alexander founded more than seventy cities among barbarian tribes and established Greek regimes throughout Asia, thus prevailing over their savage and brutal manner of living (τῆς ἀνημέρου καὶ θηριώδους ἐκράτησε διαίτης). It is due to the Macedonian king that the inhabitants of Bactra and the Caucasus began to honour the gods of the Greeks and his laws were used by countless numbers of men. Plutarch further argues that by founding cities in the places which he had conquered Alexander put an end to savagery and the negative elements, being in contact with the good, changed for the better.[163] Even if one rejects the idea that Alexander had a plan of civilizing the East, one must admit that the king's accomplishments gave rise to the phenomenon which characterizes the Hellenistic era, that is a reciprocal influence of customs, languages, religions and life-styles among a variety of peoples. Diodorus might have been inspired by the acts of Alexander and, like Plutarch, could have believed that the king considered the city to be a convenient instrument for re-educating the local population. Yet he might also have learned this from the impact of the actions of later rulers.

Instances of the Roman world illustrate the role of the city in the process of cultural assimilation. The Romans founded colonies which in many respects resembled the cities established by the Hellenistic kings. It seems that, from the very beginning, the Romans were aware of the effect of the colonies on the peoples in whose land they had been built. Referring to the events of the seventh century BCE, Livy states that many of the inhabitants of the Etruscan town of Fidenae, having had Roman colonists integrated into their community, knew Latin. Earlier in his work he mentioned the fact that Fidenae became a Roman colony after its

[162] See below, pp. 315–330.

[163] Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, I.5 (*Mor.*, 328d–329a). For disputing Plutarch's view on the grounds that he credits Alexander with later developments, see Fraser 1999, pp. 181–189 and compare Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 254–259; Tarn 1951, pp. 48–50.

defeat by the Romans. In his account of the limits of the Roman Empire and the provinces in the reign of Tiberius, Tacitus adds to that, remarking that soldiers were recruited to the urban and praetorian cohorts from among the Roman colonies of ancient times.[164]

But one does not need to go far from Diodorus' time to look for his inspirations. Julius Caesar, responsible for the foundation of many colonies, might have stimulated his descriptions of new settlements established by mythological figures. Caesar's enterprise bears a marked resemblance to that of Alexander the Great and his successors. He gave his name to the new towns (*coloniae Iuliae*), placed them in the land of hostile peoples and settled Roman citizens, veterans and natives together. He initiated, for instance, the colony in Urso in Further Spain. This province was known to be loyal to Pompey and the city of Urso itself was hostile to Caesar. Having won the battle of Munda (45 BCE), Caesar planned to establish several colonies in Further Spain, one of which was in Urso, a task accomplished after his death by Antony. It is likely, therefore, that he wished to strengthen his position in a hostile region through the establishment of colonies. Furthermore, the colony built in Urso was called *Colonia Genetiva Iulia Urbanorum* and provides a good example of a mixture of various groups of inhabitants. The phrasing *colon(os) incolasque contributos* which appear in Chapter 103 of its charter alludes to the fact that the native residents of Urso and the surrounding villages dwelt alongside Roman citizens (probably the poor who were taken out of Rome).[165] In Hispalis, another colony in Further Spain, Caesar settled his soldiers.[166] Among the favours which Caesar bestowed upon those of the people of the province who showed him their good will one may also find the grant of Roman citizenship and the status of colonists; this not only suggests that men of different descent lived side by side in Caesar's settlements, but also that the distinctions were slowly becoming blurred.[167]

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164 Liv., I.14.4–11, 27.3, 27.9; Tac., *Ann.*, IV.5.

165 Caes., *B Hisp.*, 22, 28, 41; Plin., *NH*, III.12. The charter of Urso: *CIL*, II.5439 = *ILS*, 6087; see also Hardy 1912, pp. 7–60; Johnson, Coleman-Norton, Bourne 1961, no. 114 pp. 97–104. For the population of the colony, see Hardy 1912, pp. 7–8, 47 n. 111; Sutherland 1939, pp. 127–128; Johnson, Coleman-Norton, Bourne 1961, p. 104 n. 13; Salmon 1969, p. 135; Brunt 1971, pp. 250, 586; Mackie 1983, pp. 44–45, 229–230. See also Curchin 1990, pp. 13–14.

166 Strabo, III.2.1 C 141.

167 For Caesar's favours, see Dio, XLIII.39.5. For the colonization of Caesar in Spain and the contribution of the Roman cities to the "Romanization" of the province see, for example, Sutherland 1939, pp. 115–131; Vittinghoff 1951, pp. 72–89; Curchin 1990, pp. 103–123.

Caesar also built cities in Gaul and this may have inspired Diodorus' story of the foundation of Alesia by Heracles. The colony of Narbo Martius was populated by the soldiers of the tenth legion, whereas those of the sixth legion were settled in Arelate.[168] Veterans were also sent to two of Caesar's most famous colonies—namely, Carthage and Corinth—where they were joined by Roman citizens, mainly freedmen, if they so wished. In both cases Caesar's decision to establish these colonies has been based on the excellent nature of the sites, thus revealing another way of thought similar to that of Alexander.[169] In addition, Caesar founded colonies on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Hellespont (Sinope, Heraclea Pontica, Apamea in Bithynia and Lampsacus).[170] It is possible that Diodorus alluded to this enterprise in his version of the journey of Myrina who also founded cities in Asia Minor, but on the Aegean coast.

Founding cities,[171] then, was a typical deed of rulers in the Hellenistic era. The above examples are taken from both margins of the period: Alexander's cities on the one hand, Caesar's colonies on the other. Yet the practice prevailed throughout this era. The *Diadochi*—Lysimachus, Cassander, Antigonus, Seleucus and Ptolemy—built cities bearing their own names as though they wished to legitimize their rule. The Hellenistic kings continued this trend. The Seleucids stand out and Seleucus Nicator, mentioned earlier, provides a good example. He founded eight cities in

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168 Plin., *NH*, III.32, 36; Suet., *Tib*., 4.1; *CIL*, XII.4344–4349. See also Goodman 2007, esp. pp. 83–86.

169 Diod., XXXII.27.1–3; Strabo, VIII.6.23 C 381, XVII.3.15 C 833; Plin., *NH*, IV.11; Plut., *Caes*., 57.5; Paus., II.1.2; App., *Pun*., 136; Dio, XLIII.50.3–5; Pomp. Mela, *Chorog*., II.48.

170 Sinope: Strabo, XII.3.11 C 546; Plin., *NH*, VI.6; *CIL*, III.6978. Heraclea Pontica: Strabo, XII.3.6 C 542. Apamea in Bithynia: Plin., *NH*, V.149; *CIL*, III.6992; *ILS*, 314; cf. Plin., *Ep*., X.47. Lampsacus: App. *B Civ*., V.137. See Rice Holmes 1923, vol. 3, pp. 320–322; Vittinghoff 1951, pp. 87–89; Levick 1967, pp. 4–5; Salmon 1969, pp. 132–137; Brunt 1971, pp. 236, 600–601 and also Jones 1971, pp. 147–173.

171 The conceptual aspect of urbanism deserves a separate discussion. For instance, the English word "city" may replace various Greek and Latin words such as πόλις, ἄστυ, ἀποικία, *urbs* and *civitas*. While all these terms are difficult to define, it is the term *polis*, having both urban and political senses, which is the subject of great controversy. For studies dealing with the *polis* as a concept and as an actual phenomenon, see those of the *Copenhagen Polis Centre*—e.g. Hansen 1993; Hansen, Raaflaub 1996; Flensted-Jensen 2000; Hansen 2000, pp. 9–249; Hansen 2006; Hansen 2007—and also Fustel de Coulanges n.d., pp. 117–223; Jones 1940; Glotz 1965; Ehrenberg 1969; Sakellariou 1989; Shipley, Hansen 2006. Another issue worth discussing is the distinction between cities which were established by a single act of foundation (the type with which the present study is concerned, modelled, for example, on the Greek colonies), and city-states which were founded in a long-drawn-out process (such as Corinth; see Roebuck 1972). For further discussion of urbanism in antiquity, see Martin 1974; Ward-Perkins 1974.

a short period of time in order to secure his position in the territories which had come under his control, concomitantly gaining the loyalty of the local inhabitants and developing the commerce of those areas. The Ptolemies and the Attalids did not hang back.[172] We need not linger over the activities of all these kings. It is quite clear that building cities was part of the Hellenistic reality and that this reality inspired the way in which the Hellenistic authors presented the mythological heroes.[173] Diodorus, as this study demonstrates, clearly reflects this tendency. Moreover, it would not be an exaggeration to say that he does so better than any other author of his age. According to Apollodorus, for instance, Heracles founded only one city, that of Abdera; not a single one is ascribed by him to Dionysus or the Amazons, while Ovid merely connects Heracles with the prediction of the establishment of Croton in Italy.[174]

The Religious Mission

Although Diodorus' heroes dealt mainly with cultural issues, they also conveyed a religious message. Before setting out for his expedition, Osiris had built a temple to his parents, Zeus and Hera, in Egypt. He added two golden chambers for Zeus. The larger was dedicated to Zeus as the god of heaven, the smaller to Zeus as the father of the Egyptians and their former king, whom some call Ammon. He built similar chambers in honour of other gods (such as Apollo, Aphrodite, and Hestia, whom Diodorus mentions earlier), directing that honours be offered to each of them and appointing priests to take care of these (I.15.3–4). Osiris, in addition, instructed the Egyptians to honour almost as gods (τιμᾶσθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς θεοῖς) the sacred bulls, Apis and Mnevis, both because they were used in agriculture and because in their labour they passed on to succeeding generations the fame of those who had discovered wheat and barley (I.88.4). Osiris himself was revered as a god both

[172] See e.g. Tscherikower 1927, passim; Jones 1940, passim; Downey 1961, pp. 54–86; Downey 1963, pp. 11–44; Hammond 1972, pp. 207–220; Leschhorn 1984, pp. 202–333; Green 1990, pp. 150–170, 312–335; Grainger 1990a, pp. 95–102, 126–130; Grainger 1990b, passim; Aperghis 2004, pp. 20, 90–99, 297. See also Weber 1976, pp. 225–230.

[173] Nock 1972a, pp. 140–141.

[174] Apollod., *Bibl.*, II.5.8; Ov. *Met.*, XV.15–18 (cf. Diod., IV.24.7). It is worth noting that the topic of founding cities by gods and heroes appears elsewhere in Diodorus' work, that is outside the six tales discussed here. Heracles, for instance, is said to have built many cities in India, of which the largest and most famous was Palibothra (II.39.3), while Apollo is considered as the founder of Thurii in Italy (XII.35.3).

in Egypt and abroad. According to Diodorus, he did not have to wage war since every people accepted him as a god because of his benefits (ἅτε παντὸς ἔθνους ὡς θεὸν ἀποδεχομένου διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, I.18.5). Returning to Egypt, Osiris received immortality and honours equal to those of the gods of heaven (τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὴν ἴσην τοῖς οὐρανίοις τιμήν) from all men due to the magnitude of his benefactions (διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, I.20.5).

Sesostris operated within the boundaries of his kingdom. He embellished all the temples of Egypt with impressive votive offerings and spoils (ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις καὶ σκύλοις ἐκόσμησε, I.55.11) and built in each Egyptian city a temple to the god whom the inhabitants especially revered (I.56.2). In Thebes he dedicated to the local god a ship made of wood coated with gold and silver, and two obelisks of stone upon which he inscribed details relating to the great size of his army, the multitude of his revenues and the number of the peoples he had vanquished (I.57.5). In Memphis he placed statues of himself, his wife and his sons in the temple of Hephaestus. This he did wishing to thank the god for saving him from the plot of his brother against him. Diodorus adds that this was also the reason for the votive offerings with which Sesostris honoured the rest of the gods mentioned above (I.57.5–8). Nevertheless, his actions both in Thebes and Memphis, the most important cities of Egypt, indicate that Sesostris intended to deliver a message according to which he and his family should be honoured alongside the gods.

Semiramis' religious acts also took place in her homeland. In Babylon she erected a magnificent temple to Zeus, whom the Babylonians called Belus, in which she put a statue of the god next to those of Hera and Rhea (II.9.4–9). Facing danger, Myrina, like Sesostris, turned to the gods. Caught in a storm in the northern part of the Aegean Sea, she had offered prayers to Cybele and was carried to an uninhabited island. In accordance with a vision which she had seen in her dream, Myrina made this island sacred to the goddess. Naming it Samothrace, she set up altars there and offered magnificent sacrifices (βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐπιτελέσαι). After the Amazons had left the island, Cybele established the mysteries—which, according to Diodorus, were still celebrated in his day—and enacted a law, ordaining that the sacred area should be a sanctuary (III.55.8–9).

Travelling around the world, Dionysus introduced mysteries of his own. On several occasions Diodorus states that the god initiated the mysteries, the rites and the Bacchic revelries (III.63.2, 64.7, 65.6, IV.82.6). In III.64.7 he even emphasizes that Dionysus instructed only those who

were pious and conducted a life of justice (τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀκοῦσι). Furthermore, as mentioned, Dionysus taught the inhabitants of the cities which he had founded to honour the deity (τιμᾶν ... καταδεῖξαι τὸ θεῖον, II.38.5), established the oracle of Ammon, his father, in Libya, appointed men to supervise it and ordained honours to Ammon as to a god (τιμὰς ὥρισεν ὡς θεῷ, III.73.1).

Heracles, too, spread both the cult of himself and the cult of others. In Iberia he was revered (τιμηθείς) by a certain king of the local people, a man who excelled in piety and justice, to whom, in return, Heracles granted a portion of the cattle which he was leading. The king accepted them but dedicated them all to Heracles, giving orders to sacrifice to him each year the finest bull of the herd. Diodorus attests that the cattle continued to be sacred to Heracles until his own time (IV.18.3). On the Palatine Hill Heracles foretold to the inhabitants who had shown him good-will (εὔνοια) that after his removal into the gods (μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετάστασιν εἰς θεούς) any man who had vowed to dedicate to him a tithe of his goods, would gain a more happy and prosperous life. Here, again, the author adds that this custom still existed in his own day (IV.21.3–4). In Sicily Heracles left eternal memorials of his presence in the plain of Leontini as a sign of his favour towards those who honoured him (πρὸς ... τοὺς τιμῶντας αὐτόν, IV.24.1). In Agyrium, Diodorus' hometown, the hero carried out a similar deed but, in this case, unsurprisingly, the account is more detailed and much more importance is attached to the incident. In this city Heracles was honoured on equal terms with the Olympian gods with festivals and magnificent sacrifices (τιμηθεὶς ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ θυσίαις λαμπραῖς). Diodorus emphasizes that this was the first time the hero had accepted sacrifices although he had previously been offered such honours. Two reasons for Heracles' consent to the annual sacrifices (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θυσίας) are put forward by Diodorus. First, hints of his coming immortality were given to the hero; he and the cattle, for example, had left their footprints in a road made of rock near the city as if it were made of wax. Secondly, as his tenth labour was coming to an end, Heracles thought that, to some extent, he was already sharing immortality. He also gave his name to a lake which he created in front of the city and to the tracks of the cattle on the rock. Furthermore, he dedicated to the hero Geryon a sacred precinct (τέμενος) which, according to Diodorus, was honoured by the local people until his own day. A second sacred precinct was dedicated by Heracles to Iolaus, his

nephew, who accompanied him on his journey, to whom he also established annual honours and sacrifices (τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας … κατ' ἐνιαυτόν). Diodorus claims that Iolaus continued to be revered to his own day, for the inhabitants of Agyrium let the hair of their heads grow from birth, until good signs were observed in the costly sacrifices accorded to him (IV.24.1–4). Heracles' care for the worship of other heroes is also evident in Syracuse. He sacrificed to Core and, dedicating to her the finest bull of his herd, he threw it into the spring of Cyane and ordered the local inhabitants to conduct a festival in honour of Core there and to make sacrifices to her annually (θύειν … κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, IV.23.4).

The question to be asked now is whether these religious activities resemble the occurrences of the Hellenistic era. Instances of similar acts committed by historical figures are numerous. To begin with the building and rebuilding of temples, in a cuneiform text, Antiochus I is presented as the guardian of the temples Esagila in Babylon and Ezida in Borsippa, and Babylonian records confirm that he initiated the reconstruction of these two temples,[175] while Antiochus III, having become ruler of Judea, ordered Ptolemy, his governor, to see to it that the work on the Temple would be completed.[176] In a poem, Ptolemy II was praised for building temples to both his parents and for installing in the temples statues of them in gold and ivory, while Ptolemy V, according to the text of the Rosetta Stone, was blessed by the gods due to his religious beneficent acts among which are the founding of new temples and restoring those in need of repair.[177] Yet Diodorus might have been inspired by a more recent event, if, indeed, he was still writing his *Bibliotheke* during the first days of the principate, as I believe he was.[178] Octavian, according to his *Res Gestae*, built the temple of Mars Ultor from the money obtained from the sale of booty. Moreover, in 28 BCE he reconstructed eighty-two temples in Rome. Livy and Ovid confirm this. Livy calls Augustus *templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem* (the founder or restorer of all temples) and states that he rebuilt the temple of Jupiter Feretrius;

175 Pritchard 1950, p. 317; Sachs, Hunger 1988, vol. 1, no. 273, pp. 346–347.
176 Joseph., *JA*, XII.141.
177 Theoc., XVII.123–125. The Rosetta Stone: *OGIS*, 90 § 34; Bilabel, Kiessling 1955, vol. 5, no. 8299 § 34 (Greek text); Wallis Budge 1929, pp. 61, 72 (for the Greek text and translation), 87, 97–98 (for the Demotic text and translation), 115, 151–152 (for the Hieroglyphic text and translation). For the Demotic, see also Ray 2007, p. 168. For further editions of the text, translations and studies, see Hölbl 2001, pp. 174–175 n. 38.
178 See the discussion above, Part I Chapter 1, pp. 30–37.

Ovid addresses him as *templorum positor, templorum … repostor* (the builder of the temples, the restorer of the temples).[179]

In addition, many Hellenistic rulers were engaged in embellishing temples. Ptolemy IV, having defeated Antiochus III in the battle of Raphia, took care of the Egyptian temples in Syria. He gave orders to make statues of the gods and to set them in the places of those damaged by Antiochus. He also allocated a large amount of gold, silver and precious stones for the task. Ptolemy V provides, again, a good example, as he decorated the temple of Apis, spending great quantities of gold, silver and precious stones on the work.[180] Augustus dedicated offerings in the Capitol and in the temples of Divus Julius, Apollo, Vesta and Mars Ultor, using the proceeds of booty (about one hundred million sesterces), and set golden offerings in the temple of Apollo, using the money obtained from the silver statues of himself which had been placed in Rome and removed by him.[181] He has another act in common with the Ptolemies: Ptolemy III is said to have brought back to Egypt the sacred statues which the Persians had confiscated and set them up again in the temples from which they had been taken, while Augustus was proud of having returned the ornaments which Antony, after robbing the temples, had taken into his private possession to the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia.[182]

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[179] *Mon. Anc.*, 20.4, 21.1; Liv., IV.20.7; Ovid., *Fast.*, II.63. See also Suet., *Aug.*, 29.1, 30.2; Dio, LIII.2.4–5. For the various opinions regarding the number of temples restored, see Ridley 2003, pp. 182–183. Octavian might have been stimulated by the traditional Roman view expressed by Horace in a poem which had probably been written before Octavian took action, in which the poet asserts that the Romans will pay for the sins of their ancestors until they have restored the temples and the collapsing shrines of the gods, arguing that they rule because they hold themselves inferior to the gods (*Carm.*, III.6.1–8). However, since the date of the *Odes* I–III is not clear and may stretch from 32 to 23 BCE and since it is hard to believe that Octavian planned and completed the work in one year, Horace's lines may be a reflection of Octavian's plan of construction. For the date of the poem, see, e.g., West 2002, pp. 64, 97; Nisbet, Rudd 2004, pp. xix–xx. For the notion that the Romans owed their prosperity to their sense of duty to the gods (*pietas*), see also Polyb., VI.56.6–12; Cic., *Har. Resp.*, 19, *Nat. D.*, 2.8; Liv., VI.41.8, XLIV.1.11 and Weinstock 1971, pp. 249–250; Nisbet, Rudd 2004, pp. 98, 102. It seems that Diodorus was aware of this view: XXVIII.3; XXXIV/XXXV.2.47.

[180] Ptolemy IV: decree of the Egyptian priests in his honour, Wallis Budge 1929, p. 303 (a translation of the Demotic text). Ptolemy V: the Rosetta Stone, *OGIS*, 90 § 33–34; Bilabel, Kiessling 1955, vol. 5, no. 8299 § 33–34 (Greek text) and see also the various texts mentioned above. Interestingly, according to the Demotic and Hieroglyphic texts, Ptolemy is said to have expended large amounts of gold, silver, grain and other resources.

[181] *Mon. Anc.*, 21.2, 24.2; cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 30.2.

[182] *OGIS*, 56 § 10–11; *Mon. Anc.*, 24.1. Ptolemy IV acted in a similar manner. He gave instructions to search for the images of the gods that the Medes carried out of Egypt

Like Diodorus' mythical heroes, Hellenistic historical figures dedicated items to the gods in their shrines. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, dedicated an altar to Ammon in his temple, while the statue of Alexander dedicated in the temple of Heracles in Gadeira, although not by the ruler himself, may be mentioned again in this context.[183] Yet Alexander's statue in the temple of Heracles leads to a discussion of another practice typical of the Hellenistic era, that of σύνναος θεός, a temple-sharing god, which Diodorus expresses in the tale of Sesostris, who set up statues of himself, his wife and his sons in the temple of Hephaestus. The custom of introducing a king (or a ruler whose title is other than king) or queen or their children into a temple of a certain god in order to revere them as (temple-sharing) gods prevailed in the Hellenistic kingdoms as well as in Rome. The Egyptian priests resolved that a statue inlaid with precious stones of Ptolemy III's daughter who had died at a young age be set up in the temples throughout Egypt; they rendered Ptolemy V a similar honour, instructing to place a statue of him in each temple in the most distinguished position. In Pergamum, a likeness of Attalus III was placed in the temple of Asclepius in Elaea during his lifetime so that he might share it. Moreover, it was ordered that sacrifices would be offered to the king on the altars of Zeus Soter, Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia.[184]

The practice of σύνναος θεός prevailed, as noted, also in Rome. In 45 BCE, following the battle of Munda, the senate and the Roman people resolved to place an image of Caesar in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription "to the invincible god". Cicero ridicules this, writing to Atticus, whose house was on the Quirinal Hill near the temples of both Salus and Quirinus: I prefer to see him (i.e. Caesar, whom Cicero previously describes as Atticus' "neighbour") as a temple-sharing god of Quirinus rather than of Salus (*eum* σύνναον *Quirini malo quam Salutis*).[185] The case of Octavian is also of interest here for he insisted,

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to Syria and Phoenicia and to return them to the temples from which they had been removed (Wallis Budge 1929, p. 304). For Augustus' story, see also Strabo, XIII.1.30 C 595 who specifically refers to the city of Rhoeteum to the north of Troy (Ilium), and Verg., *Aen.*, XII.456 with the interpretation of West 2002, p. 9, arguing that in calling Aeneas "Rhoetean", Virgil is in fact praising Augustus for returning the statue of Ajax to the people of Rhoeteum.

[183] Ptolemy: Diod., XX.100.3–4; Paus., IX.16.1. Alexander: Suet., *Iul.*, 7.1, Dio, XXXVII.52.2. See also above, pp. 194–195, 197.

[184] Ptolemy III's daughter: *OGIS*, 56 § 59. Ptolemy V: *OGIS*, 90 § 38–39. Attalus III: *OGIS*, 332 § 8–9, 42–43, 48–49.

[185] Cic., *Att.*, XII.45, 48, XIII.28 (Atticus' house: IV.1); Dio, XLIII.45.3; App., *B Civ.*,

presumably out of caution, that any temple voted to him even in the provinces would be dedicated jointly to him and to Roma. Accordingly, temples were built, for instance, in Pergamum by the League of Asia and in Nicomedia by the Bithynians (29 BCE).[186]

One more example is in order. The people of Ilium honoured Antiochus I (or rather Antiochus III) by placing a golden equestrian sculpture of him in the sanctuary of Athena with an inscription attesting to his piety regarding the sanctuary and eulogizing him as a benefactor and saviour.[187] This case bears out yet another custom—which may be also traced in Diodorus' tale of Sesostris—namely, to leave in the temples the inscriptions commemorating the good deeds of the leader. One may also recall the letter of a Seleucid king (whose identity is unknown) to one of his officials regarding the grants to Zeus of Baetocaece (northern Syria) which instructed him to inscribe a copy of the letter itself on a stone stele and to put it in this sanctuary.[188]

Ptolemy III and his sister-wife Berenice built the sacred precinct (τέμενος) to Osiris in Canopus, while the king appears as the founder of a shrine and a sacred precinct to Sarapis in Alexandria.[189] The resemblance to Heracles' deed in Sicily is quite clear. Yet a precinct dedicated to Antigonus Monophthalmus by the people of Scepsis in Troas[190] leads us again to a discussion of one of the major characteristics of religion in the Hellenistic era: conferring divine honours upon rulers.[191] The request

II.106; Florus, II.4.2.91. See the interesting interpretation of Taylor 1949, p. 172, who believes that Cicero may have seen the statue of Caesar as "a subtle piece of rival propaganda against the unconquered soul of Cato forming in the minds of the nobles".

[186] Suet., *Aug.*, 52; Tac., *Ann.*, IV.37; Dio, LI.20.7–8. An inscription of Samos attests to a dedication (probably of a temple) to the goddess Roma and to Augustus (*IGRR*, IV, 975). For Octavian's stay at Samos after his victory in Actium, see Strabo, XIV.1.14 C 637; Suet., *Aug.*, 17.3, 26.3. Cf. the inscription from Alabanda in Caria, *BCH*, 58 (1934), pp. 300–303. See also coins with the words *Roma et Augustus* which, albeit of a later period, support the custom of a temple-sharing god in Diodorus' time: *B.M. Coins, Rom. Emp.*, I, no. 548 (*sestertius*, Lugdunum, perhaps 10–6 BCE), no. 705 (*tetradrachma*, Asia, 19–18 BCE). See also Taylor 1975, pp. 146–147.

[187] *OGIS*, 219 § 35–38. For the identity of the Seleucid king, see the discussion of Ma 1999, pp. 254–259. For further examples and discussion of σύνναος θεός, see Nock 1972b, vol. 1, pp. 202–236; Walbank 1984, pp. 87–88.

[188] Jalabert, Mouterde, Rey-Coquais 1970, vol. 7 no. 4028 B and C; Welles 1934, no. 70.

[189] *OGIS*, 60; *P. Cairo Zeno*, 59355 ll. 102–103.

[190] *OGIS*, 6 § 20–21.

[191] See, among the numerous studies on Hellenistic ruler-cult, Habicht 1970, passim; Nock 1972a, pp. 134–159; Taylor 1975, pp. 1–34; Préaux 1978, vol. 1, pp. 238–271; Price 1984, pp. 23–40; Walbank 1984, pp. 87–99; Walbank 1993, pp. 210–218; Shipley 2000, pp. 155–163; Chaniotis 2003, pp. 431–445; See further for the Ptolemies: Bevan 1968,

of Alexander's friends for permission to bestow divine honours upon their king (which was granted by Ammon) was already mentioned in the previous chapter, and so were the Rhodians who asked the oracle whether they should venerate Ptolemy I as a god.[192] There are, evidently, many other examples, some of which are mentioned by Diodorus and as such are treated in the first part of the present study, dealing with Diodorus' use of sources.[193] Nevertheless, additional instances are due here in order to illustrate that, like Diodorus' mythical heroes, the Hellenistic rulers either initiated their own cult or gave their consent to that established in their honour by others.

To return to Antigonus, besides the *temenos*, the people of Scepsis built an altar, erected a statue and resolved to continue the celebration of the annual festival in Antigonus' honour which included sacrifices and competitions (311 BCE).[194] The League of the Islanders accepted the *Ptolemaeia* (c. 280 BCE), and gave orders to send three ambassadors (θεωροί) to Alexandria to sacrifice to Ptolemy Soter.[195] Seeking the help of Macedon against Cleomenes of Sparta (227–224 BCE), Aratus of Achaea made sacrifices at the festivals in honour of Antigonus Doson (the *Antigoneia*).[196] Following the battle of Raphia, the Egyptian priests gave orders to increase the honours which had been paid to Ptolemy IV and to Arsinoe in the temples of Egypt; they decided that statues of them should be set up in every temple and that the priests would attend these

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pp. 127–132; Fraser 1972, vol. 1, pp. 213–246; Koenen 1993, pp. 25–115; Hölbl 2001, pp. 77–123, 162–177, 257–303; Bingen 2007, pp. 31–36 and passim; the Seleucids: Bikerman 1938, pp. 236–257; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, pp. 116–118; Ma 1999, pp. 219–226; the Attalids: Hansen 1971, pp. 453–470; the Romans: Fowler 1969, passim; Taylor 1975, passim; Price 1984, pp. 40–51 and passim.

192 Alexander's friends: Diod., XVII.51.1–4; Curt., IV.7.25–28; Iust., XI.11.1–12; Plut., *Alex.*, 27.3–4; Arr., III.4.5; cf. Ps. Callisthenes, I.30–35. The Rhodians: Diod., XX.100.3–4; cf. Paus., I.8.6. See also above, pp. 196–197.

193 See above, pp. 68–72.

194 *OGIS*, 6 § 21–25. In 307 BCE the Athenians called Antigonus and Demetrius, his son, Σωτῆρες (Saviours), according both of them honours such as weaving their figures into the sacred robe of Athena together with those of the gods. In 304 BCE Demetrius received further honours in Athens, having liberated the city from Cassander. He was revered as θεός Καταιβάτες, the god who steps down (Diod., XX.46.2; Plut., *Dem.*, 10.3–13.2; *De Fort. Alex.*, II.5 [*Mor.*, 338a]) and, following his contribution to the restoration of democracy which occurred ten years later, the Athenians sang hymns to him as to a god (290 BCE), one of which is quoted in Athen., VI.253d–f. For further details and discussion, see Habicht 1970, pp. 44–55; Walbank 1984, pp. 91–92; Shipley 2000, pp. 160–162.

195 *SIG*^{3}, 390 (esp. § 54–57).

196 Plut., *Cleom.*, 16.5.

statues three times a day and carry out the ceremonies performed for the other gods (217 BCE). Similar honours were bestowed upon Ptolemy V by the priests who, in addition, established an annual festival for the king to be celebrated in the temples throughout the country for five days, during which sacrifices and other appropriate rites would be performed. As in Egypt, the queen of the Seleucid kingdom achieved her own cult.[197] Moreover, some of the Romans who operated in the East attained godlike honours in various cities. To take a few instances, after his liberation of Greece (196 BCE), the Chalcidians dedicated magnificent votive offerings to Flamininus, and also a gymnasium to him and to Heracles and a Delphinium to him and to Apollo. Furthermore, they appointed a priest to Flamininus and sang a hymn, praising him with Zeus, Roma and the Roman faith. The Athenians addressed Pompey in an inscription which he saw as he was leaving their city, saying that as he knew himself as a mortal, he was a god (67 BCE), while the people of Ephesus addressed Julius Caesar as a descendant of Ares and Aphrodite, a god and a saviour (48 BCE).[198] Caesar also received similar honours at home. After his victory at the battle of Thapsus (46 BCE), the senate decreed that his statue made of bronze should be placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol upon a sculpture of the inhabited world with the inscription "demigod", a term which later Caesar asked to be removed.[199] The instances show that, like Diodorus' mythological heroes, the Hellenistic rulers received godlike honours both within the boundaries of their kingdom and abroad. This practice, however, was not a Hellenistic invention. Citing Duris of Samos, Plutarch states that at the end of the Peloponnesian War the cities built altars to Lysander, the Spartan commander, and made sacrifices to him as to a god, whereas

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[197] Ptolemy IV: Wallis Budge 1929, pp. 307–308. Ptolemy V: The Rosetta Stone: *OGIS*, 90 § 38–53; Wallis Budge 1929, pp. 87–93, 116–123. Seleucid kingdom: *OGIS*, 224; Robert 1949, pp. 5–22; Ma 1999, no. 37 pp. 354–356. For the cult of the Ptolemaic queens, see also the discussion of a special tax dedicated to the cult of Arsinoe II Philadelphus in Clarysse, Vandorpe 1998, pp. 5–17.

[198] Flamininus: Plut., *Flam.*, 16.3–4. Flamininus called himself "a descendant of Aeneas" and "godlike" in inscriptions set up by him in Delphi, Plut., *Flam.*, 12.6–7. He was also honoured in Gythium, *SIG*[3], 592; *ILS*, 8766. Pompey: Plut., *Pomp.*, 27.3. Caesar: *SIG*[3], 760. For the latter, see Raubitschek 1954, esp. p. 75; Taylor 1975, p. 268. Taylor gives a list of inscriptions in Caesar's honour (pp. 267–268) and see also Raubitschek's article passim.

[199] Dio, XLIII.14.6, 21.2. Dio, XLIII.45.2 attests to another decree of the senate, following the battle of Munda (45 BCE), according to which a chariot and an ivory statue of Caesar should join that of the gods in the procession at the games in the Circus. Cf. Suet., *Iul.* 76.1 listing the chariot among the honours beyond human degree which Caesar allowed to be bestowed upon him (along with temples, altars and a special priest).

the Samians decided to call their festival of Hera "Lysandreia". He was, according to Plutarch, the first Greek who received such honours.[200]

Yet men of the Hellenistic period took the reverence of mortals a step further. Two other routines reflect their innovations: first, some of the Hellenistic kings deified their deceased parents; and second, certain Hellenistic kings were called gods during their lifetime or established their own cult. As noted, Osiris built a temple to his parents, Zeus and Hera, and dedicated to Zeus (Ammon) two golden chambers as the god of heaven and as the father and king of the Egyptians. Dionysus established the oracle of Ammon, his father, and ordered to honour him as a god. In like manner, Ptolemy II erected temples to both of his parents, placing in them statues of their image. Further historical examples may be cited. In an inscription which describes his achievements in the Third Syrian War, Ptolemy III is presented as the son of king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, the brother-sister gods, the children of king Ptolemy and queen Berenice, the saviour gods. The images of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe with the inscription ἀδελφῶν (of the brother-sister) appear on coins, the reverse of which shows Ptolemy I and Berenice with the word ϑεῶν (of the gods). Antiochus I deified his dead father, Seleucus Nicator, constructing a temple to him with a precinct around it.[201] The deifications of both Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar, though not by their own sons, may be also brought forward. Buried in an impressive tomb in Alexandria, Alexander was venerated by the Ptolemies. By establishing his divine cult in Egypt, Ptolemy I wished to benefit from Alexander's elevated status just as the sons who accorded their fathers such honours in the preceding examples.[202] It seems that Octavian also had much to gain from Caesar's apotheosis. Caesar became *divus* after

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[200] Plut., *Lys.*, 18.3–4. For further pre-Hellenistic precedents see, among others, Habicht 1970, pp. 3–16; Taylor 1975, pp. 11–13; Préaux 1978, vol. 1, pp. 239–241; Walbank 1984, pp. 89–90; Shipley 2000, pp. 158–159.

[201] Ptolemy III: *OGIS*, 54 § 1–2. Coins: Poole 1963, pp. 40–41 (see also p. 42 for a coin of the dead Arsinoe II with motifs suggesting her deification; she is presented wearing a diadem, stephane and veil and with the horn of Zeus/Ammon and a sceptre behind her head). Antiochus I: Athen., VI.254f–255a; App., *Syr.*, 63.

[202] E.g. *OGIS*, 56 § 1–2. See also the appearance of priests of Alexander in the lists of the eponymous priests of Alexandria: Clarysse, Van der Veken 1983, pp. 4–38 (the first of these was Menelaus, son of Lagus, appointed by his brother, the king, p. 4) and also in *PHib.*, 199 ll. 15–16; Ray 1976, pp. 102–103, no. 31A, 1–2. For further evidence and discussion, see Fraser 1972, vol. 1, pp. 212, 215–216; Hölbl 2001, pp. 92–95, 110–111, 288–289 (with notes); Bingen 2007, pp. 20, 29. Note the dual nature of Alexander's cult: as the founder of Alexandria and as king. For the former, see Leschhorn 1984, pp. 204–212. For the burial of Alexander, see Strabo, XVIII.1.8 C 794.

his assassination not only by a formal decree, as Suetonius points out, but also by the belief of the common people. The latter seems to have been encouraged by Octavian on the occasion of the comet which appeared during the games in Caesar's honour. The comet was interpreted as Caesar's soul received among the immortal gods. Accordingly, a star had been added, above his head, to the statue of Caesar set up in the temple of Venus.[203]

The second Hellenistic innovation is shown by the acts both of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Ptolemy Philadelphus, for instance, established the cult of himself and his sister-wife Arsinoe as θεοὶ ἀδελφοί (brother-sister gods).[204] In a decree of the priests of Canopus in honour of Ptolemy III and his sister-wife Berenice, the living king and queen are given the title θεοὶ εὐεργέται (benefactor gods).[205] A request of Antiochus III to appoint high priestesses for his wife Laodice reveals the existence of a high priest for the cult of the king himself.[206] The example, however, was set by Alexander. According to Aelian, having won the Persian Empire, the Macedonian king felt like a god, and therefore sent an order to the Greeks to make him a god by vote (324 BCE). His wish was granted by various states. After Alexander's death, however, the Athenians fined Demades—who had made the proposal for the king's apotheosis—for making the king the thirteenth god when he was only a mortal, while the Spartans added in their laconic way "since Alexander wants to be a god, let him be a god".[207] It does not concern us here whether Alexander truly believed himself to be a god,[208] nor do I intend to discuss his aims

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[203] Suet., *Iul.*, 88; Plin., *NH*, II.93–94; Dio, XLV.6.4–7.2 (cf. XLVII.18.2–4). For the comet and its interpretation, see Ramsey, Licht 1997, esp. pp. 135–153. Additionally, Fowler 1969, pp. 121–123; Weinstock 1971, pp. 364–384; Osgood 2006, pp. 40–41, 238–240. See also Suet., *Iul.*, 85: a column of Numidian marble was set up in the *forum* after Caesar's funeral, at the foot of which the Romans used to make sacrifices over a long period and to make vows. Caesar appears as *deus* in an elegy of Calpurnia's freedman: *CIL*, VI.14211 (l. 2); Taylor 1975, p. 269.

[204] Herod., I l. 30; *SEG*, 20.497 with Fraser 1960, no. 3 pp. 134–135; *PHib.*, 199. On Herodas, see Fraser 1972, vol. 2, pp. 876–878 n. 30.

[205] *OGIS*, 56 § 7–8, 21.

[206] Robert 1949, p. 7 ll.20–21; Welles 1966, no. 36 ll. 10–12; Ma 1999, no. 37 p. 354.

[207] Ael., *VH*, II.19, V.12, IX.37. See also Hyp., *Epit.*, 21, *In Dem.*, 31–32; Din., *In Dem.*, 94; Polyb., XII.12b.3 (Timaeus); Plut., *Apophtegmata Laconcia*, Damis (*Mor.*, 219e); Athen., VI.251b; Val. Max., VII.2 ext. 13 and the discussions of Habicht 1970, pp. 28–36; Préaux 1978, vol. 1, pp. 241–243; Badian 1981, pp. 54–59; Bosworth 1988, pp. 288–290; Badian 1996, pp. 24–26.

[208] One may get an impression regarding the feelings of Alexander's contemporaries from the anecdote of Aelian, according to which Anaxarchus laughed at Alexander when he was ill, asserting that "the god" needed gruel in order to recover (*VH*, IX.37). Another

at any length. Yet I would like to suggest that a comparison to Diodorus' mythical heroes might shed light on the objectives of Alexander (which are highly controversial) and perhaps, concomitantly, contribute to the question of his personal belief.

It has been argued that in requesting his own deification Alexander's motive was either political (to create one united kingdom),[209] religious (to secure his rule)[210] or simply lust for conquests and power (to satisfy his own desires).[211] The fact that Alexander's appeal was made

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revealing case is that of the Athenian Lycurgus who, after the Athenians had proclaimed Alexander a god, asked what sort of a god was he that the men leaving his temple had to wash themselves with holy water (Plut., *X orat.*, 7 [*Mor.*, 842d]). See also Diog. Laert., VI.63, quoting Diogenes of Sinope who, hearing that the Athenians had granted Alexander the title of Dionysus, said "Me, too, you might make Sarapis", and Hyp., *In Dem.*, 31, recording Demosthenes' remark "Let him be the son of Zeus and Poseidon too if he wishes" (cf. Din., *In Dem.*, 94). Menander's parody of the account, according to which the sea withdrew before Alexander to make way for him while he was marching along the coast of Pamphylia (quoted in Plut., *Alex.*, 17.4), might be another indication of contemporary feelings towards Alexander's superhuman traits. For the "world of Alexander" and its impact on the king, see recently Thomas 2007, pp. 96–97, 200–201 and passim.

[209] Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 370–373 (inspired by the discussion of Eduard Meyer. See Meyer 1924, pp. 265–314); Stoneman 2004, pp. 99–103. For a different opinion, see Hogarth 1887, pp. 317–329, and Balsdon 1950, pp. 383–388. The latter contradicts Tarn's theory, suggesting the possibility that the request for divine honours was the work of Alexander's supporters who, seeing that the king was on his way westwards, wished to curry his favour. See also the reference of Atkinson 1973, pp. 310–317 to these views. Worthington 2004, pp. 281–282 relates to the "Greek side", arguing that the Greeks conferred divine honours upon Alexander, yet "what they did was all part of a diplomatic policy to get Alexander to rescind the Exile Decree". But see Cawkwell 1994, pp. 293–306: "Alexander communicated no such desire (i.e. to be recognized as a god), neither directly nor by anyone acting on his behalf."

[210] Wilcken 1967, pp. 212–214; Hammond 1981a, pp. 265–269 (but see Hammond, Walbank 1988, vol. 3, pp. 82–83 where Hammond argues for a combination of all three motives, and compare Hammond 1997, pp. 194–196); cf. Fredricksmeyer 2003, pp. 274–278. See also Edmunds 1971, pp. 363–391, maintaining that the proclamation of his own divinity might be (together with other incidents) a sign of a fanatical development of Alexander's religiosity. It should be noted that although scholars tend to treat the political and religious motives separately, these are often correlated, for when performing a religious act, Alexander's aim was political.

[211] Hampl 1975, esp. pp. 205–207. See also Andreoti 1957, pp. 153–155; Walbank 1993, pp. 41–43—both scholars find in Alexander's act a combination of profound ambition and political purpose—and Ehrenberg 1938, pp. 103–110 who also discusses Alexander's πόθος (pp. 52–61). Cartledge 2004, pp. 237–249 (esp. 248–249) suggests, in addition to Alexander's considerations of imperial harmonization and his spiritual progression (events which led him to believe that he was more than human), that Alexander was motivated by the desire to surpass his father's achievements (cf. Hammond 1997, pp. 194–195).

almost simultaneously with his decree ordering the Greek cities of the Corinthian League to receive back their exiles is brought forward in support of the political theory; the king's religious education in his youth and his strong religious feelings which, combined with his ambitious character, led to a sense of divine mission as an adult are given as an explanation of the religious motive, while his personal πόθος (longing) for power and glory is used as proof of the third assumption. The ancient authors, however, seem to weaken each one of these theories. First, none of the sources which refer to Alexander's decree regarding the exiles mentions his request to become a god, and that includes Diodorus, who relates it twice.[212] Secondly, Arrian speaks of Alexander's πόθος but does not link it to his divine aspiration. Thirdly, Plutarch, discussing Alexander's divine origin, explicitly states that he was not foolish to be affected by the belief in his divinity but used it for the suppression of others.[213] Nonetheless, Diodorus may still be of help. In his account of mythical figures one reads that Osiris did not have to wage war in order to gain control since every people accepted him as a god because of his benefactions; for the same reason, upon his return to Egypt, he received immortality and honours equal to those of the gods of heaven from all men. One may also read that Heracles foretold to the inhabitants of the Palatine Hill who had shown him good-will that after his departure into the gods any man who made a vow to dedicate to him a tithe of his goods, would enjoy a happy and prosperous life. These comments indicate that both Osiris and Heracles used their immortality for political purposes. Now since Diodorus is accustomed to model his mythical heroes on historical figures, these details might either strengthen the view that Alexander had political objectives which agreed with his religious convictions or, at the very least, reveal Diodorus' own interpretation of Alexander's aims.

This practice of the Hellenistic rulers to establish their own cult during their lifetime had its symptoms in Rome. Though puzzling, Caesar's conduct provides a good example. In his second Philippic oration, Cicero lists four divine honours which Caesar achieved while still alive: *pulvinar* (a sacred couch), *simulacrum* (a likeness), *fastigium* (a pediment) and *fla-*

[212] Diod., XVII.109.1, XVIII.8.2–6; Curt., X.2.4–5; Iust., XIII.5.1–8. Yet Diodorus mentions the reasons for Alexander's decision to restore the exiles—to gain fame and to secure many devotees in the cities against revolutionary movements—which accord well both with a political purpose of his request for deification (if indeed one was made during the same time) and a longing for glory.

[213] Arr., VII.1.1–4; Plut., *Alex.*, 28.1–3.

men (a priest).[214] These honours are mentioned by various authors. Suetonius speaks of the *pulvinar*;[215] Caesar's statues, as noted, were placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and in the temple of Quirinus;[216] the pediment was added to Caesar's house according to a *senatus consultum*;[217] finally, according to Dio, the Romans addressed Caesar as Jupiter Julius and elected Antony as his *flamen* in imitation of the *flamen Dialis*.[218] Furthermore, they created another *collegium* of priests to supervise the Lupercalia, named after Julius, and again, it was Antony who presided it.[219] One may also recall the decision to honour Caesar with sacrifices and games,[220] and note Appian's statement, according to which many temples were assigned to Caesar καθάπερ θεῷ (as to a god). He mentions one in particular, dedicated to Caesar and to the goddess Clementia, in which the statues of both stood with clasped hands. Appian may be exaggerating, but it is his remark "as to a god" which interests us here, especially in light of the appearance of the word *divus* and even *deus* attached to Caesar's name in inscriptions dated before his death.[221] Indeed, there is no conclusive evidence to prove that Caesar was called a

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214 Cic., *Phil.*, II.110; cf. Suet., *Iul.*, 76.1.

215 Suet., *Iul.*, 76.1.

216 Dio, XLIV.4.4–5 refers to statues of Caesar which were set up in all the temples, but the word he uses—ἀνδριάς—instead of Appian's ἀνάθημα (*B Civ.*, II.106), which means a votive offering and may be an equivalent of ἄγαλμα (a statue in honour of a god), suggests that these were not likenesses of him as a god but simply an image of a man (in XLIII.45.3 Dio employs the word εἰκών (an image), but the inscription "to the invincible god" proves the value of this likeness). See Nock 1972b, passim.

217 Jul. Obs., 67 who also records Calpurnia's dream that the pediment had fallen during the night before the murder of her husband. Cf. Plut., *Caes.*, 63.6; Suet., *Iul.*, 81.3; Florus, II.4.2.91.

218 Dio, XLIV.6.4; cf. Cic., *Phil.*, XIII.41, 47; Suet., *Iul.*, 76.1.

219 Suet., *Iul.*, 76.1; Dio, XLIV.4.6.2 and also. Cic., *Phil.*, II.87, III.12, V.38; Plut., *Caes.*, 61.1–3, *Ant.*, 12.1–2. For the Lupercalia incident in February 44 BCE which was interpreted as an attempt to crown Caesar, see recently Kamm 2006, p. 145; Canfora 2007, pp. 281–286.

220 App., *B Civ.*, II.106; Dio, XLIV.4.4, 6.2.

221 App., *B Civ.*, II.106. The temple of Caesar and Clementia is mentioned also in Dio (XLIV.6.4) and Plutarch (*Caes.*, 57.3). Inscriptions: *ILS*, 72, 73, 73a, 6343. There is no certainty, however, regarding the dates of these inscriptions. See e.g. Broughton 1952, vol. 2, p. 360 who believes that one of the plebeian tribunes of 42 BCE proposed the *lex Rufrena*, ordering to set up the statues of *Divus Iulius* in the *municipia*, which appears in *ILS*, 73 and 73a. In contrast, Taylor 1975, pp. 268–269 maintains that Rufrenus might have been a tribune in 44 BCE and that he had proposed the law before Caesar was murdered. And, since it seems likely that one of the inscriptions comes from Rome and the other from a *municipium*, they accord with one of the terms of the decree recorded in Dio, XLIV.4.4–5, according to which statues of Caesar be erected in the cities and in all the temples of Rome (already mentioned above). Among the many honours bestowed upon

god or considered as one during his lifetime,[222] but the evidence shows that the idea of deification during one's lifetime was "in the air" in Rome at the time when Diodorus was there, writing.[223] Moreover, since Caesar had accepted most of the honours bestowed upon him, it is possible that Diodorus thought that he was acting like Alexander, namely initiating his own cult.[224]

It remains to examine three other religious tasks fulfilled by Diodorus' heroes and which accord, again, with the deeds of historical Hellenistic figures. The first of these, the appointment of priests, has already been touched upon. Osiris took upon himself to appoint priests to take care of the cult which he had established in his parents' honour as well as to various gods. As mentioned, Antiochus III ordered that high priestesses should be appointed as part of the honours heaped upon his wife, Laodice, whereas the Ptolemaic kings followed in the footsteps of Ptolemy I, who had bestowed the priesthood of Alexander upon his brother Menelaus, appointing the various priests of the dynastic cults.[225] The second task is that of instructing people to honour the gods or other figures which were deemed worthy of godlike worship. Dionysus taught the inhabitants in his new cities how to revere the deity, Heracles ordered the Syracusans to conduct a festival in honour of Core and to render sac-

Caesar by the senate one may find a decree, probably made at the beginning of 44 BCE, according to which the people should swear by Caesar's fortune (Dio, XLIV.6.1).

[222] See the survey of scholars' opinions in Yavetz 1983, pp. 10–57 and also Rice Holmes 1923, vol. 3, pp. 315–316, 331–337; Syme 1939, pp. 54–55 and n. 4; Gelzer 1968, pp. 315–322; Fowler 1969, pp. 112–120; Weinstock 1971, pp. 270–317; Taylor 1975, pp. 67–77; Yavetz 1992, pp. 190–195 (Hebrew); Riggsby 2006, pp. 493–500 (esp. 493–495). For further discussion of the various honours heaped upon Caesar, see e.g. Meier 1995, pp. 473–479; Kamm 2006, pp. 139–145.

[223] Other authors, Diodorus' contemporaries, were obviously affected by this notion. Virgil wrote (circa 37 BCE) *deus nobis haec otia fecit* (*Ecl.*, I.6), referring to Octavian as the one who brought about the peace, although, as noted, Octavian himself was cautious not to be called a god but only a son of a god during his lifetime. Horace also, albeit later than Diodorus (about 23 BCE), alludes to Augustus as a god (*Carm.*, I.2.30–49, III.2.21–24, 3.11–12, 5.1–4, 6.1–8, 23.1–20, 25.5–6, *Epist.*, II.1.14–16).

[224] It seems that a comparison with Alexander was inevitable not only posthumously, but also during Caesar's lifetime. It is worth noting the comment of Cicero in his letters to Atticus. Mentioning his difficulties in writing an essay of advice to Caesar, he states that he had read the books of Aristotle and Theopompus to Alexander in order to get help (*Att.*, XII.40, 51). The fact that the inscription in the temple of Quirinus with the image of Caesar says "to the invincible god" is also significant, bearing in mind the Athenian proposal to set up a statue of Alexander, the king and invincible god (Hyp., *In Dem.*, 32).

[225] Antiochus III: Robert 1949, p. 7 ll.20–21; Welles 1966, no. 36 ll. 10–12; Ma 1999, no. 37 p. 354. Ptolemy I: Clarysse, Van der Veken 1983, p. 4 and see Fraser 1972, vol. 1, pp. 221–223 for the Ptolemaic practice.

rifices to her annually, while Osiris gave orders to venerate almost as gods the sacred bulls Apis and Mnevis. Ptolemy III and Ptolemy V are said to have shown deep respect for Apis and Mnevis and all the other sacred animals in Egypt; Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II (his sister) and Cleopatra III (his wife) decreed that the expenses for the burial of these bulls would be made from the royal treasury as in the case of the deified members of the royal family.[226] Finally, Diodorus' heroes (both Sesostris and Myrina) showed their gratitude towards the beneficent gods through sacrifices and gifts. Likewise, being grateful for Ammon's response, Alexander offered sacrifices to the god and gifts to his priests.[227] Caesar also, as I suggested in the previous chapter, may have shown his appreciation to Heracles. It is possible that the benefits which he conferred upon the people of Gadeira after his victory in Ilerda were the manner in which he performed his vows to Heracles, in whose precinct he first felt that he was destined for glory.[228]

Diodorus, then, ascribes to the mythological figures religious acts similar to those carried out by historic Hellenistic individuals. He could have been so inspired both in Egypt and Rome, two places which we know for sure that he either visited or lived in. Thus the apparent influence of the Ptolemies and Julius Caesar should not come as a surprise to us. The question is what can be learned from Diodorus' mythical stories about the complex religious problems of the Hellenistic era? To be more specific, can he contribute to our understanding of issues such as ruler-cult and deification during one's lifetime? Osiris and Heracles were revered as gods due to the benefits which they had rendered the people who bestowed the honours upon them, just like Alexander and Caesar. However, when the latter either initiated or accepted divine honours, their purposes are not clear. Were they motivated by religious convictions, political schemes or purely personal ambition? In the case of Osiris, Sesostris and Heracles, on the other hand, it is quite obvious that they had political agendas. I have already suggested that Osiris and Heracles,

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[226] Ptolemy III: *OGIS*, 56 § 9–10. Ptolemy V: *OGIS*, 90 § 31 (the Rosetta Stone. Further editions are given above). Ptolemy VIII: *P. Teb.*, 5 § 77–78 (Hunt, Edgar 1934, vol. 2, no. 210) = *C. Ord. Ptol.*, 53.

[227] Diod., XVII.51.1–4; Curt., IV.7.25–28; Iust., XI.11.1–12; Plut., *Alex.*, 27.3–4; Arr., III.4.5; cf. Ps. Callisthenes, I.30–35.

[228] Diod., V.20.2 (though he does not mention Caesar specifically, he is obviously referring to him); Dio, XLI.24.1. See also Liv., *Epit.*, 110; Caes., *BCiv.*, II.18, and above, p. 195.

upon accepting (or, rather, encouraging) their immortality, had political intentions. To this one may add Sesostris' placing the statues of himself, his wife and his sons in the temple of Hephaestus in accordance with the practice of σύνναος θεός. Bearing in mind his conduct in Thebes, where he had dedicated to the local god two obelisks with details concerning the magnitude of his army, the size of his revenues and the number of the peoples he had conquered, the political objective becomes apparent again. This is not to say that these mythical leaders did not care for religion as such (on the contrary, it appears to be an important element of their lives), or that they did not pursue their great ambition (their hopes that because of the magnitude of their benefactions they would be accorded immortal honours discussed earlier prove otherwise), but that they used religion as a means to establish and to strengthen their rule both inside and outside their kingdoms. If Diodorus modelled his heroes on historical figures such as Alexander and Caesar, then he must have thought that this was their way.

The above discussion of the religious mission poses yet another question. One needs to ask whether Diodorus' heroes sought to change the beliefs of the peoples whose territories they either visited or invaded. To put it more bluntly, did the heroes carry out religious conversions among these peoples? The possible existence of conversion within pagan societies is too broad a topic to elaborate on in the present study. Nevertheless, I would like to offer some support of the idea that the process of conversion did occur within paganism. In other words, the process of conversion happened not only when paganism became involved with the monotheistic religions, Judaism and Christianity.[229]

The Egyptians began to worship Osiris due to his beneficial deeds upon his return from his journey; Dionysus founded the oracle of Ammon in Libya, thus causing the natives to pay homage to him as a god and the rest of the peoples to consult him; the Iberians started to sacrifice the finest bull of the herd to Heracles each year from the time that he visited their land to Diodorus' own day; the inhabitants of the Palatine Hill became accustomed to dedicate to Heracles a tithe of their goods, a custom which was still in existence in Diodorus' time; having visited Agyrium, Heracles was honoured by the inhabitants of the city as an Olympian god. They also followed his instructions to revere the sacred precinct which he

[229] For this notion, see Mendels 1996, p. 450 n. 35. For conversions from paganism to Judaism, Christianity and vice versa see, among others, Nock 1933; McKnight 1991 (with additional bibliography on notes 12 and 14 p. 123); Will, Orrieux 1992; Goodman 1994.

had dedicated to Geryon and to maintain the annual cult which he had established to Iolaus, his nephew. The three practices were still valid in the days of Diodorus. This list of cases indicates that a new god or a new cult had been introduced to the people of a certain land or city and that these then became a part of the local religion. Diodorus' emphasis that the incorporated cults still existed in his own age is meaningful: they were not a temporary change, but a permanent practice which lasted for generations. Hence the peoples of Iberia, Agyrium, or any of the other places mentioned above may be considered as converts. One has to bear in mind that despite the collective name applied to describe the pagan communities, not all of them revered the same gods or shared the same beliefs. According to Herodotus, for instance, The Massagetae who lived north of the Caspian Sea worshipped only the sun, the Ethiopians of Meroe venerated only Zeus (Ammon) and Dionysus, while the Egyptians did not revere the same gods except for Isis and Osiris. The inhabitants of the city of Sais, for example, worshipped Athena, whereas in Atarbechis there was an important temple to Aphrodite.[230] Thus exchanging one's belief in several gods to a belief in one god, or substituting one's faith in one god with a faith in the trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit does not differ in this respect from accepting new gods (in addition to or instead of those worshipped) by pagan societies.

Again, this accords with the Hellenistic reality. It was not only with new plants and animals which peoples became acquainted following the conquests of Alexander, but also with new gods and cults. And, as the Hellenistic kings introduced new trees and plants, they likewise introduced new gods and religious practices. Hence customs passed from East to West through the deeds of Alexander (e.g. his request to be honoured as a god among the Greeks) and Caesar (e.g. accepting divine honours in Rome). Later, when the cult of the ruler had taken root in Rome, cults also shifted from West to East (e.g. the worship of Octavian and Roma in Asia Minor). A most illustrative instance is that of Ptolemy I

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[230] See, respectively, Hdt., I.216, II.29 (cf. Plin., *NH*, VI.186); II.42; II.28, 59, 169–170, 175; II.41. See also II.18 (on the difference between Libyans and Egyptians); II.69 with Strabo, XVII.I.39 C 812, 44 C 814 (on further distinctions amongst the cities of Egypt); III.8 (the Arabians honour only Dionysus [Orotalt] and Ourania [Alilat; the Greeks named her Heavenly Aphrodite]); III.38, 99 (on the peculiar customs of the Indians). In I.131 Herodotus attests to the process of conversion: the Persians, from the beginning, had made sacrifices only to Zeus, the sun, the moon, the earth, the fire, the water and the winds; later they learned from the Arabians and the Assyrians to make sacrifices to Ourania (Alilat/Mylitta) whom they called Mitra. See also the use made of these instances by Celsus (Origen, *c. Cels.*, V.34).

who, bringing the statue of Pluto from Sinope to Egypt, presented the people with a new god and a new cult. The god was called Sarapis by the Egyptians and became the chief god of the city of Naucratis.[231] Thus one may say that the people of Naucratis underwent a conversion, replacing their main god with Sarapis. The latter, interestingly, began to be worshipped in Rome in the first century BCE together with Isis, but the senate tried to prevent the "conversion" of the Roman *plebs* by destroying the temples built to these gods.[232]

The Political Mission

Diodorus' heroes rarely conveyed a political message. However, when they did deal with political issues, their actions were similar to those of historical figures of the Hellenistic era. Semiramis put in order the affairs in Ethiopia and Egypt (καταστήσασα τά τε κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον), after she had conquered both countries (II.16.1). This task recalls Alexander's conduct in Egypt, recorded by Diodorus himself, employing the same phrasing (καταστήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, XVII.49.2), and brings to mind the activities of Flamininus and the Roman commissioners after the defeat of Philip V. In fact, when Polybius deals with the appointment of the ten senators to be sent eastwards in order to help Flamininus, he uses the same wording to describe their mission: καταστήσασα … τά κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.[233]

Having travelled from Libya into Egypt, Myrina formed a friendship (φιλίαν συνθέσθαι) with Horus, the son of Isis and king of Egypt at that time. Diodorus employs the same wording in the historical section of his work; for instance, when he discusses the appeal of Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, to Demetrius Poliorcetes in 291 BCE which suggests forming both a friendship and an alliance (φιλίαν συνθέσθαι καὶ συμμαχίαν, XXI.15.1), or states that Bocchus, king of Mauretania, requested the Romans to form a friendship, seeking their pardon in 105 BCE (XXXIV/XXXV.39.1). In Polybius one may find φιλίαν συν-

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[231] Tac., *Hist.*, IV.83–84; Plut., *De Is. et Os.*, 27–28 (*Mor.*, 361e–362b); cf. Strabo, XVII.1.23 C 803; Origen, *c. Cels.*, V.34.

[232] Val. Max., I.3.4.

[233] Polyb., XVIII.42.5. A similar formula appears in XXXI.1.7 for a later delegation to Greece. Cf. XXXIII.1.2, 11.6 for the use of the verb alone in a related context. For the work of Flamininus and the commissioners, see Polyb., XVIII.44.1–48.10; Liv., XXXIII.30.1–35.12, XXXIV.48.2.

ἔθετο when he describes Scipio's decision to create a friendship with Edeco, prince of the Editani, in 208 BCE.[234] Thus Myrina's political move not only reflects a realistic manoeuvre in interstate relationship (the obvious example is that of Rome, forming *amicitiae* which did not include a written treaty), but it is also expressed by the same terms as in the historical accounts.

After Myrina had made war (διαπολεμήσασαν) against the Arabians, during which she killed many of them, and after she had subdued (καταστρέψασθαι) Syria, she decided to set free the Cilicians who surrendered of their own accord (ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἑκουσίως προσχωρήσαντας, III.55.4). Again, both the language and the idea are taken from the historical narrative. According to Polybius, one of the clauses of the peace treaty dictated by the senate to Philip V orders the king to set free (ἐλευθέρας ἀφεῖναι) cities such as Abydus and Myrina (!), whereas the expression ἑκουσίως προσχωρήσασαν appears in Plutarch, stating that Lysander, the Spartan commander, won Orchomenus which yielded to him of its own free will.[235] Yet more interesting is the notion which Diodorus echoes here. I have already mentioned Virgil's famous verse in the first part of this study: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (to spare the surrendered and to suppress the arrogant).[236] Written after the battle of Actium, Virgil is probably alluding to Augustus' policy which is interpreted as clemency. This is exactly the kind of policy that Myrina activated.

Dionysus introduced laws and courts (νόμους εἰσηγήσασθαι καὶ δικαστήρια) in the cities which he had founded (II.38.5). Such accomplishments are well connected with reality: the Romans, for instance, after establishing a colony, enacted a law by which the local regime, the rights of the inhabitants and the judicial system were regulated. Diodorus may have been inspired by a recent example. In 44 BCE the *Colonia Genetiva Iulia Urbanorum* planned by Julius Caesar was founded by Antony at the site of Urso in Further Spain. The charter of this colony includes, *inter alia*, chapters concerning the procedures both in the private and the public laws.[237]

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[234] Polyb., X.35.2 and see also III.11.9 (φιλίαν συντίθηται). For Diodorus, see also XII.77.2.

[235] Polyb., XVIII.44.4 (cf. Liv., XXXIII.30.4: *liberas esse*); Plut., *Lys.*, 28.2.

[236] Verg., *Aen.*, VI.853.

[237] *ILS*, 9087, esp. chaps. 61, 94–96, 102, 124. For the Charter, see also Hardy 1912, pp. 23–60; Riccobono 1941, vol. 1, no. 21, pp. 177–198; Johnson, Coleman-Norton, Bourne 1961, no. 114 pp. 97–104.

Dionysus further helped to end quarrels between peoples and cities (συλλύοντα τὰ νείκη τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων) and, instead of conflicts and wars, he created unity and a great peace (ἀντὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων ὁμόνοιαν καὶ πολλὴν εἰρήνην κατασκευάζειν, III.64.7). The impact of Alexander the Great in this case is obvious. As mentioned at the outset of the present study, the notion of the unity of mankind became well-known in the period following Alexander. However, since I intend to discuss this idea at length in the next chapter,[238] I will refer here only to Plutarch's words regarding Alexander which bears a striking resemblance to Diodorus' description of Dionysus' deed. According to Plutarch, the initial purpose of Alexander's expedition was to provide all men with unity and peace (ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην … παρασκευάσαι) and association with one another.[239] Diodorus, it might be added, was not the only author to attribute to Dionysus the accomplishments of Alexander. After the king's death, for instance, the god began to be portrayed as a conqueror and prominent leaders as his imitators.[240] Yet it is not inconceivable that Diodorus' emphasis on the creation of "great peace" derives from the atmosphere of his own days, namely, the end of Civil Wars, and the image of Octavian as the originator of the peace.

Another task performed by Dionysus is also found in the tale of Heracles. Dionysus freed all the cities (ἐλευθερῶσαι πάσας τὰς πόλεις) of Boeotia (IV.10.2), while Heracles liberated Thebes (ἠλευθέρωσε τὰς Θήβας, IV.10.2). Here, again, Diodorus echoes Roman policy after the defeat of Philip V. According to the first clause of the Roman peace treaty to the king, all the Greek cities in Europe and Asia should be free. Another clause, as noted, ordered him to set free certain cities.[241] Moreover, Flamininus and the ten commissioners disagreed regarding the fate of Greece: while the proconsul insisted that all Greece should be set free, the commissioners believed that Roman garrisons should remain there for a while for the safety of the Greeks themselves, otherwise Antiochus would replace Philip as their master.[242] Finally, Flamininus' declaration at the Isthmian Games of 196 BCE named Corinth, Euboea and other Greek states as free, subject to no tribute and to be governed

[238] See above, Part I Chapter 1, p. 25 and below, Part II Chapter 6, pp. 319–330.
[239] Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, I.9 (*Mor.*, 330e).
[240] E.g. Marius and Pompey (Plin., *NH*, XXXIII.150, VII.95 respectively). For the connection between Alexander and Dionysus, see Nock 1972a, vol. 1, pp. 134–144.
[241] Polyb., XVIII.44.2, 4; Liv., XXXIII.30.2, 4.
[242] Polyb., XVIII.45.10–12; Liv., XXXIII.31.8–11.

by their own laws.[243] It should be noted, however, that Rome was not the only one to make use of "the freedom of the Greeks". It became, in fact, a slogan after Alexander. Indeed, Rome used it on the eve both of the Second Macedonian War and the war against Antiochus III, but so did kings such as the latter in order to gain a foothold in Greece.[244]

Both Dionysus and Heracles installed men of their own choice as rulers in the lands which they had conquered. Conquering Egypt, Dionysus set up Zeus, the son of Cronus and Rhea, as king of the land (τῆς χώρας καταστῆσαι βασιλέα) though he was still but a young boy (III.73.4). Having subdued Iberia, Heracles delivered the kingdom to the noblest men among the natives (παρέδωκε … τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἐγχωρίων, IV.18.2, 19.1). Furthermore, he gave the land of Eryx in Sicily to the local inhabitants after he had defeated their king (IV.23.3), restored an exiled king to the throne of Sparta (IV.33.5) and, having gained a third part of the land of Doris, he entrusted it to Aegimius, king of the Dorians, who had promised him the land in return for his help against the Lapithae (IV.37.3–4, 58.6).[245] Parallel historical cases may be found, especially in the Roman imperial administration. First, the appointment of sovereigns by both heroes brings to mind the so called "client kings". As a reward for his aid against Teuta, the Romans made Demetrius of Pharos the ruler of part of the Illyrian territories which they had captured in 229 BCE.[246] But, as the institution developed and reached its peak during his own days, Diodorus must have known of a recent example of a client king: in 37 BCE the senate crowned Herod as king of Judea.[247] Secondly, the last mission of Flamininus in Greece before taking his army back home was, according to Livy, to administer justice and to render void the arrangements of Philip V in the Greek cities; in so doing, he increased the power of the pro-Roman faction, while reducing the rights and liberty of the

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243 Polyb., XVIII.46.5; Liv., XXXIII.32.5. Another instance is the liberation of the cities of Asia Minor after the defeat of Antiochus III, Liv., XXXVIII.39.8–12.

244 E.g. Polyb., XVI.27.2; Liv., XXXIV.59.5 (Rome). Liv., XXXV.32.9–11 (Antiochus).

245 It should be added that in the last three cases Heracles asked his chosen rulers to keep the land for his descendants.

246 Polyb., II.11.17; App., *Ill.*, 8.

247 Joseph., *AJ*, XIV.381–389. For "client kingship" (the term is conveniently used here; its precision is also discussed in the following studies), see e.g. Braund 1984, passim; Braund 1988, pp. 69–96; Roller 1998, passim (esp. for Herod); Roller 2003, pp. 267–275 (also passim for the cases of Numidia and Mauretania). For the system of client states as part of the Julio-Claudian strategy and its decline under the Flavians, see Luttwak 1976, pp. 20–40, 111–117. For *clientelae* outside Rome in general, see Badian 1958a, passim; Gruen 1984, vol. 1, pp. 158–200.

rest. His conduct in Thessaly is particularly revealing. Livy explains that after years of chaos under Macedonian domination, Flamininus brought the Thessalian states into order by choosing the senate and the high magistrates *a censu*, namely on the basis of property, and by attempting to make this section of the Thessalian people more influential.[248] Thirdly, the Romans intervened in the dynastic problems of the Ptolemies, ordering the Egyptians to accept Ptolemy Alexander II as their king. The latter had been forced to leave Egypt as a child and was later captured by Mithridates on the island of Cos. Escaping from his captor, he fled to Sulla, who compelled the Egyptians in 80 BCE to crown the exiled prince as king along with Cleopatra-Berenice III. In return, Ptolemy Alexander II was forced to give Sulla a testament to the effect that Egypt would be ultimately delivered to Rome.[249]

Heracles destroyed the race of the Amazons and the Gorgons because he thought that if any of the peoples were under the rule of women (τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν γυναικοκρατούμενα), it would accord ill with his decision to benefit the entire human race (III.55.3). The idea that the rule of women is harmful is made clear by Aristotle. Criticizing the Spartan constitution and social structure, the philosopher argues, *inter alia*, that Spartan women were not only useless when the Thebans invaded Sparta in 369 BCE (like the women in other states in similar circumstances), but they also caused more confusion than the enemy.[250] This sentiment regarding the rule of women was shared by men of the Hellenistic era and beyond. Plutarch recounts that the elder Cato, discussing the question of control by women (γυναικοκρατία), paraphrased a saying of Themistocles that all men rule their wives, but the Romans who rule all men are ruled by their wives. Describing the accession to the throne of Ptolemy IV Philopator, the biographer asserts that the court had fallen into excessive licentiousness as well as drunken behaviour and the rule of women (εἰς πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν καὶ παροινίαν καὶ γυναικοκρατίαν). Of Fulvia, Antony's first wife, he says that she was not interested either in

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[248] Liv., XXXIV.48.2, 51.4–6.

[249] Joseph., *AJ*, XIII.349; Cic., *Leg. Agr.*, II.42; App., *BCiv.*, I.102. Whether this testament was authentic or not is of no relevance here. The fact is that the story existed and was documented, thus it might have been the inspiration for Heracles' giving the throne of Sparta to an exiled king to keep it until his own descendants could claim it.

[250] Arist., *Pol.*, 1269b12–39. In 1269b25 he, like Diodorus, employs γυναικοκρατούμενοι. See also 1313b34: γυναικοκρατία and compare Plut., *Lyc.*, 14.1. For Aristotle and Sparta see, for example, David 1982/1983 with a survey of previous studies; Pomeroy 2002, pp. 150–151 and passim.

housekeeping or in having power over a private man, but wished to rule over a ruler and command the commander. Thus she had taught Antony to tolerate the rule of a woman (γυναικοκρατία) and when Cleopatra received him, he had already been trained to obey women.[251] Plutarch might have preserved the flavour of the time of the occurrences but, concomitantly, it is likely that he held the same view. Strabo's use of the term γυναικοκρατία strengthens this conjecture. Stating that the characteristics of the Cantabrians indicate that they were somewhat savage, he adds that there were nevertheless some traits which were not brutish. Citing the custom of Cantabrian husbands to give dowries to their wives, of fathers to name their daughters as heirs and of brothers to be married off by their sisters, he remarks that these traits indicate a state of rule by women, something entirely not civilized.[252] Polybius' comment on Teuta, the Illyrian queen, may be also mentioned. In his discussion of her response to the statement of one of the Roman delegates (230 BCE), he remarks that she reacted in a womanish and reckless manner, sending certain men to assassinate the Roman envoy.[253]

Yet Heracles' deed ought to be examined from another angle. Setting out to benefit humanity, he had to demolish the Amazons and the Gorgons because their rule was harmful. For the same reason he killed king Busiris of Egypt who used to slay strangers visiting his country (IV.18.1). Regardless of gender, then, a benefactor of mankind could not allow the existence of a sovereign injurious to human beings. In a similar fashion, Flamininus, the benefactor of Greece, was expected to abolish the tyrannical rule of Nabis in Sparta. His speech before an assembly of the Greeks in 194 BCE was received with applause, except for when he spoke of Nabis. According to Livy, it seemed not at all harmonious with the conduct of the liberator of Greece to have left a tyrant, who not only oppressed his own homeland but was a cause of fear to all the neighbouring cities. Being aware of these feelings, Flamininus explained that since it was not possible to eliminate Nabis without destroying Sparta, he stripped him of his power so that he could no longer harm anyone.[254]

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[251] Cato: Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, 8.2; Plut., *Romanorum Apophtegmata*, Cato Maior (*Mor.*, 198d). Ptolemy: Plut., *Cleom.*, 331. Antony: Plut., *Ant.*, 10.3. Cf. Plut., *Amat.*, 11 (*Mor.*, 755c).

[252] In Strabo's words: τοῦτο δ' οὐ πάνυ πολιτικόν (III.4.18 C 165).

[253] Polyb., II.8.12. See also his remark in II.4.8 and compare Dio, XII.49.2 (Zon., VIII.19).

[254] Liv., XXXIV.48.5–49.3. Cf. Shimron 1972, pp. 92–94.

The last political mission to be examined is, again, one which Heracles accomplished. The hero made safe the journey through the Alps, for he killed the leaders of those who transgressed the law (τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς παρανομίας ἀνελών), those who had led the inhabitants of the region to slaughter and plunder the armies which passed through (IV.19.4). The difficulty with which Heracles dealt was a current one in Diodorus' day. The author may have been inspired by the achievements of Caesar. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Caesar sent Servius Galba to open up a route through the Alps by which merchants had been accustomed to travel in great danger and on payment of great tolls.[255] Diodorus did not live long enough to see the work of Augustus, but the achievements of the *princeps* (building up the roads as much as he could after he had pacified the Alpine tribes), also referred to in the previous chapter, may shed light on the environment in which he was writing.[256] Furthermore, the problem caused by bandits both on land and at sea called for the intervention of various leaders in Hellenistic times. In 230 BCE, for instance, the Romans tried to stop Illyrian piracy—from which both Greek and Roman traders had been suffering—by means of diplomacy. Having failed, they took up arms.[257] Another reputed example is Pompey's extraordinary *imperium* which was given to him in 67 BCE in order to put an end to the piracy which infested the Mediterranean Sea.[258]

Examining the journeys of the gods and culture-heroes in this chapter and in the preceding one proves that Osiris, Sesostris, Semiramis, Myrina, Dionysus and Heracles were, in fact, pagan missionaries. To use Mendels' definition of the primitive mission,[259] these six heroes conveyed a message and brought progress to populations both in and outside the

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[255] Caes., *BGall.*, III.1, and see above, p. 217.

[256] Strabo, IV.6.6 C 204; Amm. Marc., XV.10.2–8, and see above, pp. 217–218.

[257] Polyb., II.5.1–12.7, and also III.16.3 for the renewal of Illyrian pirate activity under Demetrius of Pharos which led to the Second Illyrian War (219 BCE); Dio, XII.49.2–7, 53 (Zon., VIII.19, 20). Cf. App., *Ill.*, 7–8.

[258] Cic., *Leg. Man.*, 44, 52–58; *Leg. Agr.*, II.46, *Phil.*, XI.18; Liv., *Epit.*, 99; Vell., II.31.1–32.6; Val. Max., VIII.15.9; Tac., *Ann.*, XV.25; Plut., *Pomp.*, 24.1–26.4, *Luc.*, 37.4; App., *Mith.*, 93–96; Dio, XXXVI.20.1–37.6 and see Broughton 1952, vol. 2, pp. 144–145 for further sources.

[259] Mendels 1996, p. 433: "any action taken by individuals to convey a message, or to bring some sort of progress, to a population in and/or outside the political/religious and/or geographical sphere from which the mission/ary originates". See also the Introduction, pp. 16–17.

political/geographical sphere from which they originated. The above discussion shows that the message was cultural, religious or political, but it was often more complex, involving more than one sphere; sometimes all of them together. Yet the undertakings of the heroes were for the most part cultural, with a special emphasis on material culture. They cultivated new kinds of plants (including wheat and barley, which resulted in people giving up cannibalism), acclimatized plants in places where they did not naturally grow, improved the techniques and the tools for cultivating the soil, offered solutions to problems concerning the storage and preservation of food. Moreover, they also found ways to facilitate the irrigation of the land and to prevent flooding and, by draining swamps, they increased the amount of land available for cultivation and eliminated a health hazard. In short, one may safely say that they contributed to the progress of mankind.

The ancients had a perception of progress,[260] one which Diodorus believed in and expresses well. In his introduction to the fourth book, he states that he will recount the stories of the Greeks about their heroes and demi-gods, about those who have performed notable acts in war and "about those who in time of peace have invented any thing useful to the common life or enacted laws" (περὶ ... τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τι χρήσιμον πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν βίον εὑρόντων ἢ νόμοθετησάντων, IV.1.5). In similar words he maintains that Osiris and Isis rendered special honours to "those who invent arts or devise any of the useful things" (τοὺς τὰς τέχνας ἀνευρίσκοντας ἢ μεθοδεύοντάς τι τῶν χρησίμων, I.15.4). Moreover, in I.8.1–9, he discusses an early stage in human development, highlighting the gradual discovery of functional items, while in I.15.9, he asserts that Osiris respected Hermes especially for his ability to devise things capable of assisting human life.[261] Scholars see Diodorus as a great advocate of

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[260] See, for example, Bury 1955, passim; Edelstein 1967, passim; Lovejoy, Boas 1973, esp. pp. 368–388; Dodds 1973, pp. 1–25; Momigliano 1984, pp. 83–85; Blundell 1986, pp. 165–202 and also Lloyd 1983, passim; Lloyd 1987, passim.

[261] See Blundell 1986, pp. 194–196; Sacks 1990, pp. 56–59. One may compare Diodorus' view to Isocrates' reference to the gradual progress of civilization (*Paneg.*, 32–33, cf. 40 and *Panath.*, 202), and to Polybius' praise of Archimedes' genius operations against the Roman siege of Syracuse (VIII.5.2–7.12 and see his view in IX.19.5–20.10, X.43.1–47.13). It must be remembered, however, that this notion had been conveyed in earlier times, e.g. Xenophanes, fr. 18 (Diels-Kranz; see the commentary of Lesher 1992, pp. 150–155); Aesch., *Pr.*, 436–506; Eur., *Supp.*, 201–218. See also Lucretius, Diodorus' contemporary (V.780–1457).

progress and its advantages.[262] This is, in my opinion, remarkably demonstrated in his emphasis on the contribution of his heroes to technological developments, possibly the best symbol of progress.

[262] Momigliano 1984, pp. 83–84; Blundell 1986, p. 196; Sacks 1990, pp. 55–82. Remarks such as those in II.27.1 and XIV.42.1–2, 43.3 concerning the invention of war machines (for which see Coumo 2007, pp. 44–46) may also be presented in support of this hypothesis.

CHAPTER SIX

MISSIONARIES AND RECIPIENTS: THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN DIODORUS' HEROES AND THEIR ADDRESSEES

Describing the efforts of Antigonus Monophthalmus to gain control over the cities of Asia Minor, Diodorus states that he took some of them by force, and brought others over to his side by persuasion (XVIII.52.8). His wording—ἃς μὲν βίᾳ χειρούμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῖ προσαγόμενος—appears earlier in his work when he refers to the struggle of the Lacedaemonians for the supremacy of Greece (XV.19.1), and again, slightly changed, in his account of the *Diadochi*, recounting the activities of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, in Phoenicia. The latter, according to Diodorus, besieged some of the cities while winning others by persuasion (XIX.85.4). With this short yet lucid phrasing Diodorus defines two ways of action available to commanders. His mythological figures employed these same ways in their dealings with the inhabitants of the lands which they had visited. Unfortunately, Diodorus touches upon this issue in only a few cases.[1] Luckily, however, his references shed light on the manner in which the heroes carried out their plans on the one hand, and elucidate the peoples' responses to the deeds performed in their lands, on the other. The reaction to the hero's presence obviously affected his way of action but, as will be seen, the influence was reciprocal.

A careful reading of Diodorus' tales of the heroes examined in this study reveals three scenarios. The first is that both sides acted peacefully. Several instances may be found in the legends; all of them were mentioned in the previous chapter,[2] but will be approached here from a different angle. It is said that Osiris was not warlike (οὐ … πολεμικὸν εἶναι); he did not have to wage war since every people accepted him as a god because of his benefits (ἅτε παντὸς ἔθνους ὡς θεὸν ἀποδεχομένου διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας, I.18.5). As he taught men how to cultivate wheat, all men

[1] For this reason, the present chapter is relatively short. Nevertheless, the topic ought to be treated separately.

[2] See above, pp. 230, 307–308 (Osiris), 236 (Dionysus), 282–283 (Heracles), 268 (Dionysus).

gladly (ἡδέως) changed their food (I.14.1). No man opposed Dionysus as if he were hostile since a good report of him was spread everywhere (πάντῃ δὲ διαδιδομένης περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμης ἀγαθῆς μηδένα καθάπερ πρὸς πολέμιον ἀντιτάττεσθαι). Rather, having yielded to him readily, all men honoured him as a god with praises and sacrifices (πάντας δὲ προθύμως ὑπακούοντας ἐπαίνοις καὶ θυσίαις ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν), for there was no one among the Greeks or the Barbarians (οὔθ᾿Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων) who did not benefit from his feats (III.73.5–6). In Agyrium, Heracles was worshipped on equal terms with the Olympian gods with festivals and annual sacrifices. Thus he built a lake in front of the city, returning favours to those who were pleased with him (τοῖς εὐδοκουμένοις τὰς χάριτας ἀποδιδούς, IV.24.1–3). Finally, Dionysus returned favours to his homeland (ἀποδιδόντα τῇ πατρίδι χάριτας) by setting free all the cities and founding Eleutherae (IV.2.6). It may be conjectured, therefore, that if the inhabitants of the land visited by the hero had heard beforehand of his good characteristics and admitted the advantages of his feats, they were hospitable towards him. In this case, the hero refrained from violent acts. Moreover, if the local population had cordially accepted the hero, he performed something for their benefit.

In the historical section of Diodorus' work one may detect similar behaviour. Philip II, for instance, had invaded Thessaly but, expelling tyrants from the cities, gained the inhabitants' support through his favours. Then, according to his expectations, he won over the Greeks who joined the Thessalians and who readily (προθύμως) became his allies (XVI.69.8). In Sicily, the Greek cities willingly (προθύμως) accepted the rule of Timoleon as his strength and military reputation had grown and the Greeks welcomed his policy of restoring autonomy to all. As a result, many of the other cities of Sicily governed by the Carthaginians asked to be his allies (XVI.73.2). Alexander put off his attack on Thebes, hoping that one single city would not dare to wage war against his mighty army. Diodorus explains that if the Thebans had appealed for peace, Alexander would have gladly (ἡδέως) granted them their wish and would have given them everything they requested, since he wanted to set out for his expedition against Persia without having to worry about any disturbances in Greece (XVII.9.4).[3]

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[3] The notion that conferring benefits upon a group of people would make them grateful thus acting in a way desirable to the beneficent ruler may be found in the words which Diodorus puts into the mouth of Dionysius, addressing the Syracusans in 406 BCE;

Yet Diodorus may have found greater inspiration in the conduct of Scipio Aemilianus. Relating to the first year of the Third Punic War, he states that Scipio, then a military tribune, unlike others (probably his colleagues in the office are meant), kept his promises to the besieged and treated kindly (ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέρετο, the Greek verb is in the imperfect tense) those who had entrusted themselves to him. As his reputation for justice became known throughout Libya, not one of the besieged would surrender unless Scipio took part in the agreement (XXXII.7). Elsewhere Diodorus recounts that when Cato the Elder had been asked how Scipio was doing in Libya, he replied that he alone was wise, the others darted around like shadows (XXXII.9a.2). Diodorus does not cite Polybius as his source but his portrayal accords well with Polybius' comment that Scipio had a reputation for goodness and moderation and with his description of Scipio's conduct at the fall of Carthage, which Diodorus also echoes. Conveying a similar version of Scipio's operations, Appian mentions Polybius as his authority. He, too, refers to Scipio's fair treatment of those under siege and to his fame as a courageous and honest man both among friends and enemies.[4] The similarities between Scipio Aemilianus and both Osiris and Dionysus are too obvious to overlook.

Another scenario occurs when the mythical hero took up arms against the local population. The violent act took place in two different situations: a) confronting resistance to his deeds, the hero reacted violently in order to suppress it and to carry out his mission. In Thrace, Osiris killed Lycurgus, king of the barbarians, who had opposed his deeds (Λυκοῦργον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βαρβάρων ἐναντιούμενον τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις ἀποκτεῖναι, I.20.2);[5] b) the hero, or heroine, used weapons from the very beginning in order to take control of a country. The Amazons, led by Myrina, defeated the inhabitants of the Atlantian city of Cerne in a pitched battle (παρατάξει νικῆσαι). Wishing to strike terror (βουλομένας δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καταπλήξασθαι) into those who dwelt around, the Amazons treated the captives savagely, cut the throats of the

facing a war against the Carthaginians, the tyrant urged the assembly to recall the exiles, saying that as the recipients of this benefaction they would readily (προθύμως) join the war effort in order to return favours (ἀποδιδόντας χάριτας, XIII.92.6).

[4] Polyb., XXXV.4.8, XXXVIII.19.1–22.3 (see also XXXI.25.2–28.13); Diod., XXXII.24; App., *Pun.*, 101, 127–133 (see also his remarks in *Pun.*, 98–99, 103, 105).

[5] For the discussion of Osiris' mission in this incident, see the preceding chapter, pp. 230, 267.

men, reduced the children and women to utter slavery, and levelled the city to the ground. When the news of the fate of Cerne had spread, the Atlantians were struck with fear. They delivered up their cities with terms of surrender (δι᾽ ὁμολογίας παραδοῦναι τὰς πόλεις) and promised that they would do whatever should be commanded them. Myrina, behaving kindly towards them (ἐπιεικῶς αὐτοῖς προσενεχθεῖσαν), both formed friendship with them (φιλίαν τε συνθέσθαι) and founded a city instead of the ruined Cerne (III.54.4–5).[6]

Again, Diodorus draws on real facts. To begin with, destroying a city in order to make a deterring example of it, one which the neighbouring peoples might see, was a well-known manoeuvre in ancient warfare. Diodorus himself recounts that the Athenians inflicted a severe punishment on the inhabitants of Scione, desiring to strike terror (τῷ φόβῳ βουλόμενοι καταπλήξασθαι) into those of their allies whom they suspected of considering secession. In fact, his entire description of the destruction of Scione bears a close resemblance to the demolition of Cerne (XII.76.3). Polybius records how Alexander ravaged Thebes in order to frighten other Greek cities, thinking that this would keep them subjected to him while he was making his way to Asia.[7] Secondly, the manner in which the defeated city was treated also had its roots in reality. The Carthaginians, according to Diodorus, having razed the Sicilian city of Himera to the ground, distributed the women and the children among their army and kept them under guard, but put to death all the men (XIII.62.3–4). Diodorus' censure of the Carthaginians' behaviour in Selinus also reveals the customary treatment of defeated people which he ascribes to Myrina. He asserts that the Carthaginians spared the lives of the women and the children who had taken refuge in the temples not out of mercy, but because they were afraid to lose the treasures stored in these temples in case the despairing women should burn them down (XIII.57.3–5). A famous instance is the Roman sack of Corinth, which is briefly mentioned in the extant Book XXXII of Diodorus (4.5, 27.1), but various authors provide further details. The Romans utterly destroyed the city, put to death its inhabitants, save for the women and the children

[6] For further discussion of this event, see the previous chapter, p. 267.

[7] Polyb., V.10.6, IX.28.8, 34.1, XXXVIII.2.13, also using τῷ φόβῳ. Cf. IV.23.8: some advice was given to Philip V to make an example of Sparta by treating it in the same way as Alexander had treated Thebes. See also Arr., I.9.9–10.6. It should be noted, however, that Alexander refrained from damaging the temples and from killing the Thebans, selling all of them into slavery.

whom Mummius, the Roman commander, sold into slavery.[8] Finally, the fear of the Atlantians and their appeal to Myrina resemble Polybius' report of the Carthaginian panic and their message to Rome, according to which they were ready to obey any command (150/149 BCE).[9]

Yet there is a third case, in which the mythical heroes acted violently. In Boeotia, turning the Minyan territory (in which the city of Orchomenus lay) into a lake, Heracles destroyed the whole region thus exacting punishment (τιμωρίαν λαμβάνων) from its dwellers because they had enslaved the Thebans (IV.18.7).[10] This time, then, the hero's hostility was a reaction to an aggressive behaviour of the people whose land he visited. The contradiction between Myrina's compassion towards those who had surrendered to her and Heracles' vengeance towards the aggressors is evident. In fact, this notion may be traced in each of the above examples: if the local inhabitants willingly welcomed the hero, he treated them kindly; if they resisted him, or attacked others, he used force; if, however, after waging war the people under attack had capitulated, he showed mercy. A discussion of the term ἐπιείκεια in the first part of this study (Chapter 2) showed that the idea was typical of the Hellenistic era.[11] Hence I do not intend to elaborate on this theme here, but will offer some instances, demonstrating that this kind of relationship between the hero and the residents of the land in which he acted reflects the reality of Diodorus' days.

In the first year of the Civil Wars (49 BCE), having won the battle of Corfinium, Caesar captured some of Pompey's officers, but released them a short while later. He even instructed one of them to deliver a message to Pompey, asking him to meet in order to settle their differences. Caesar's gesture was appreciated by both his followers and his opponents. Caesar himself wrote about this to his friends, Oppius and Cornelius Balbus,

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[8] Cic., *Off.*, I.35, III.46 (cf. II.76), Cic., *Leg. Man.*, 11; Liv., *Epit.*, 52; Paus. VII.16.7–8; Florus, I.32.16.5–7; Zon., IX.31; cf. Polyb., XXXIX.2. The reasons given by the ancients were other than making an example of the city: fear that its convenient location might some day lead the locals to renew the war (Cicero); the Corinthians' mistreatment of the Roman delegates (Cicero and Livy). One may also mention the destruction of Carthage, but its treatment by Scipio Aemilianus was somewhat different to judge from the sources which are, for the most part, fragmentary. See Polyb., XXXVI.9.1–17, XXXVIII.20.10–22.1; Diod., XXXII.4.5, 14.1, 26.2; Liv., XLIV.44.2, *Epit.*, 51, 59, Jul. Obs., 20; App., *Pun.*, 132–133; Florus, I.31.15.18; Zon., IX.30.

[9] Polyb., XXXVI.6.2–3 compared with Diod. III.54.5.

[10] For further discussion of Heracles' action, see the preceding chapter, pp. 255–256.

[11] See especially pp. 100–102, 107–108 for the particular significance of the notion in Diodorus' own day.

thanking them for their greetings and explaining that he had resolved to act leniently and to make an effort towards reconciliation with Pompey. He added that he waited to see if by acting in this manner he would be able to achieve the support of all and to secure a lasting victory, since in the past men had been unable to maintain their victory for a long time, except for Sulla, whose footsteps he did not intend to follow. Rather, his way would be a new one and his victory would be gained through mercy and kindness (*misericordia et liberalitate*).[12] Cicero distrusted Caesar's statements and feared that all this clemency (*omnis haec clementia*) was only a prelude to cruelty such as Cinna's.[13] Nevertheless, he greeted Caesar for his conduct in Corfinium, sending him a letter in which he praised his clemency (*eius clementia*). Cicero's words elsewhere reveal his belief that this kindness gained Caesar the favour of the people throughout Italy.[14]

After defeating Pompey at the battle of Pharsalus, Caesar showed again his clemency. Making an effort to calm down the terrified soldiers of his opponent, he addressed them speaking about his own leniency (*de lenitate sua*) and, securing their lives, he ordered his own soldiers not to cause them or their property any damage. His saying *parce civibus*, spare the citizens, bears out his policy.[15] Diodorus was engaged in his writing while these events took place. It seems that he assigned affairs which he had either heard or seen with his own eyes to his mythological heroes, especially when Caesar—whom he appreciated the most—was concerned. He was not the only author to have done so. Virgil, composing his *Aeneid* after the battle of Actium, when the person admired was Octavian, who embraced some of Caesar's traits, introduced into his epos the renowned proverb, *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, to spare the surrendered and to suppress the arrogant.[16]

Yet Myrina spared those who surrendered only after she had destroyed a city to its foundations, put the men to death and reduced the women

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[12] Cic., *Att.*, IX.7c (cf. IX.13a); Caes., *B Civ.*, I.24; Vell. Pat., II.50.1–2; Suet., *Iul.*, 72.

[13] Cic., *Att.*, VIII.9.

[14] Cic., *Att.*, IX. 16, VIII.13.

[15] Caes., *B Civ.*, III.98; App., *B Civ.*, II.80; Florus, II.13.2.50–51; Suet., *Iul.*, 75.2.

[16] Verg., *Aen.*, VI.853. For Caesar's clemency, see e.g. Rice Holmes 1923, vol. 3, pp. 27–29, 170–172; Syme 1939, pp. 51, 159–160; Weinstock 1971, pp. 233–243; Gesche 1976, pp. 138–141; Wistrand 1978, pp. 44–48, 51–52; Meier 1995, pp. 367–381; Dowling 2006, pp. 20–28, 120–122, 166–168 and passim; Canfora 2007, esp. pp. 269–270, 347–348; Wyke 2008, p. 148. See also Barton 2007, pp. 244–254 for Roman merciful treatment of those who surrendered.

and children to slavery. As Diodorus' description of the destruction of Scione (mentioned above) shows, this treatment of a defeated city was very real. There are instances which go back to early periods but, in line with the present study, focus will be made on the Hellenistic era. The deeds of the Achaeans in Mantineia, having conquered the city with the help of Antigonus Doson, bear close resemblance to Myrina's conduct in Cerne. They executed the leading men of the city, other citizens they either sold into slavery or sent to Macedon in chains, enslaving their wives and children. Later, however, Aratus founded a new city to replace the ruined one, naming it Antigoneia after the Macedonian king.[17] In Thebes, Philip V acted in a similar fashion: having subdued the city, he sold into slavery its surviving inhabitants and, establishing a Macedonian city in its stead, called it Philippi.[18] Furthermore, during the Second Macedonian War, complaints were made against Philip who used to plunder and to burn down cities, enslaving their inhabitants. He was seen as quite different from his predecessors, beginning with Alexander, said to have seldom ruined cities, preferring to spare them.[19] The Bithynian Cius was one of the cities ill-treated by Philip: having taken it, he enslaved its inhabitants.[20]

Polybius argues that, according to the laws of war, one could demolish the enemy's cities and cause injuries both to their men and facilities, while Plutarch describes the sufferings of the women at the hand of their captors.[21] This practice may also be traced in the East as demonstrated by the words which Xenophon puts into the mouth of Cyrus: there is an everlasting law among all human beings, according to which, when a city is conquered in war, its inhabitants and their property belong to the conquerors.[22] Yet the custom was criticised. Plato records his disapproval of razing cities to the ground, but along with a clear distinction between the way in which the Greeks should treat other Greeks and the way they should handle the barbarians. In the first case—called στάσις (discord)—the Greeks should refrain from complete destruction of cities, whereas in the second—classified as πόλεμος (war)—all is permissible.[23] Echoes of

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17 Polyb., II.56.1–59.10; Plut., *Arat.*, 45.3–6.

18 Polyb., V.100.8.

19 Polyb., XVIII.3.3–12; Liv., XXXII.33.12–16.

20 Polyb., XV.23.9–10.

21 Polyb., V.11.3–4, cf. Liv., XXXI.30.2–3; Plut., *De mul. vir.*, 15 (*Mor.*, 251a–f).

22 Xen., *Cyr.*, VII.5.73. This is the current practice in Homer, e.g. *Il.*VI.448–455. See also Hdt., VI.101.

23 Pl., *Resp.*, 470a–471c, *Menex.*, 239a–c, 242a–e, cf. *Plt.*, 307c–308b. It is worth noting

this protest may be found in Polybius, who has reservations concerning ravaging the lands and the entire agricultural system of one people by those of its own race. The arguments of both authors resemble one another even in their suggestion as to the proper manner with which to deal with the vanquished: it is sufficient to deprive the enemy of the year's harvest.[24] Diodorus was well aware of this kind of conduct on the conqueror's part. Discussing the customs of the Indians, he states that, while among other peoples the enemies devastate the land and prevent its future cultivation, among the Indians the farmers are sacred. The Indians kill one another in the battle-field but abstain from causing any harm to those who cultivate the soil; they do not burn the lands of their foes nor do they cut down their trees (II.36.6).

There were times, however, when the treatment of the vanquished was improved. This may be seen, for instance, in the behaviour of the Romans. In their treaty with the Aetolians (211 BCE) there was a clause to the effect that those of the cities conquered between Aetolia and Corcyra, together with their lands, buildings and walls, should belong to the Aetolians, while the rest of the booty (the men included) should belong to the Romans.[25] Years later, following their victory in Cynoscephalae, Flamininus argued that men ought to be hard on their enemies in battle but, having defeated them, they should be moderate, gentle and humane.[26] Undeniably, this Roman commander acted on his convictions. However, the destruction of both Carthage and Corinth, mentioned above, marks a new escalation in a conqueror's behaviour towards the vanquished. It is worth noting that Diodorus reflects the policy, clearly put forward by Flamininus, in the historical section of his work—recounting the reply of Lucius Scipio to Antiochus III's appeal for peace and Pompey's dealings with the Jews (XXIX.10; XL.2)—and, as the present study shows, also in the mythological part.[27]

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that Plato makes an unusual use of the term *stasis*, since it generally implies a civil strife within a certain *polis*. Cf. e.g. Pl., *Resp.*, 444b, 545d, *Plt.*, 306b, 307c, 308b and also Arist., *Pol.*, 1296a, 1302a, 1303b, 1304a, 1306a.

[24] Polyb., XXIII.15.1–3; cf. Pl., *Resp.*, 470d–e.

[25] Liv., XXVI.24.11; cf. Polyb., IX.39.3.

[26] Polyb., XVIII.37.7. The Roman conduct at the end of the Latin revolt (338 BCE) is an earlier example. The senate decided to treat each of the Latin peoples separately, conferring benefits upon some of them, while others were severely punished (Liv., VIII.14.1–11).

[27] For the manner in which a defeated city was treated in the ancient world see, for example, Haarhoff 1948, pp. 92–95; Rostovtzeff 1959, vol. 1, pp. 192–194, vol. 2, pp. 605–606, 1258; Garlan 1975, pp. 68–72; Ducrey 1986, pp. 233–251. For ravaging

The use made by Diodorus of the word βάρβαρος also requires consideration as it highlights another aspect of the relationship between the benefactor and the beneficiaries. Osiris, as mentioned, killed the Thracian Lycurgus, king of the barbarians (βασιλέα τῶν βαρβάρων), because he had opposed his deeds (I.20.2). Dionysus, in contrast, was willingly received by all men, since there was no one among the Greeks or barbarians (οὔθ' Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων) who had not benefited from his feats (III.73.5–6). Heracles settled both his soldiers and the local inhabitants in Alesia and, since the locals had formed the majority, the entire population was barbarized (ἐβαρβαρωθῆναι, IV.19.2). The barbarians, according to these instances, were the "others": the foreigners in the case of Osiris; those different from the Greeks in the case of Dionysus who, nonetheless, enjoyed the visits and benefits of the heroes. The case of Heracles is more complicated. Diodorus describes the soldiers that put down roots in Alesia as "men from every people" (ἐξ ἅπαντος ἔθνους) who had joined his army (IV.19.1). It follows that those were not necessarily Greeks. One may assume, then, that Diodorus did not believe in a simplistic division of mankind into two groups, Greeks and Barbarians, for in Alesia there were "men from every people" and "barbarians". The latter were only the "natives", namely the Celts.

The word βάρβαρος in its various forms appears throughout the *Bibliotheke*. To take a few examples, Diodorus states that the kings of Egypt employed both convicted men and captives of war in their gold mines. They were guarded by brigades composed of foreign soldiers (ἐκ στρατιωτῶν βαρβάρων) who spoke languages different (διαλέκτοῖς διαφόροις χρωμένων) from theirs in order to prevent any conversation or other friendly contact between the workers and their custodians which might influence the latter (III.12.2–3). Here the author uses the term "barbarian" as an adjective, denoting "foreign", but its appearance alongside the emphasis on the guards' different languages is interesting and will be

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cities and killing/enslaving their inhabitants as a form of revenge in Greece, see Lendon 2000, pp. 13–15 and, since I refer to archaic and classical Greece, I should mention two instances. The first is Cleon's motion to demolish Mytilene, the Athenians' debate and their resolution to refrain from razing the city to the ground (427 BCE, Thuc., III.36.1–49.4); the second instance is the proposal of states such as Corinth and Thebes to destroy Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Xen., *Hell.*, II.2.19; Plut., *Lys.*, 15.2; cf. Paus., X.9.9) and, according to Pausanias, the same suggestion was made by Lysander and Agis (III.8.6). See the interesting article by Powell 2006, pp. 287–301, discussing the question of why Sparta did not destroy Athens in 404 or in 403 BCE (on which see also Kagan 1987, pp. 400–412; Cartledge 1987, pp. 348–352).

referred to below. The word as an adjective and with the same meaning may also be found in the historical part of Diodorus' work. Artaxerxes sent Bagoas with foreign soldiers (μετὰ στρατιωτῶν βαρβάρων) to take control of Pelosiun in Egypt (XVI.49.4). In a number of cases Diodorus uses "barbarian" as a synonym for "wild" and even "savage". In his version of the *Argonautica*, describing those who dwelled around the Black Sea, he claims that these regions were inhabited by barbarian and entirely savage peoples (ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγρίων), who used to kill strangers who landed on their shores (IV.40.4). In the historical section, βάρβαρος is ascribed again to the inhabitants in the vicinity of the Black Sea, but this time specifically to the Mosynoecians. Discussing the campaign of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes (401 BCE), Diodorus states that according to the soldiers who had joined him, the Mosynoecians were the most barbarian people (βαρβαρώτατον ... τὸ ἔθνος) which they had encountered. They were considered as such on account of customs such as having intercourse with their women in public and tattooing their bodies both on their back and their breasts (XIV.30.7). Here, too, one may understand "barbarian" as "savage".

As a noun, meaning "foreigner", the word βάρβαρος recurs time and again. In a chapter dealing with the Ichthyophagi (Fish-eaters) who dwell on the coast between Carmania and Gedrosia, Diodorus employs "barbarians" to refrain from repeating their name (III.15.2, 5). Explaining the obstacles awaiting those who wished to pass through the land of the Cossaeans in Media, he uses "barbarians" instead of the latter's proper name, preferring it to words such as "tribesmen" suggested by the translator of the Loeb edition;[28] he claims that it was better to come to terms with the barbarians—that is, the Cossaeans—yet in the course of the war of the *Diadochi* Antigonus considered this kind of action beneath his dignity (XIX.19.3). These instances[29] show that Diodorus regarded βάρβαρος as a substitute for either the noun ξένος (foreigner) or the adjective ξενικός (foreign).

Yet there are cases in which the term βάρβαρος has, according to Diodorus, a deeper meaning, such as seen above within the heroes' stories. In the general introduction to his work, he maintains that he began his history with the myths as told both by the Greeks and the barbarians (παρ' Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις), after having scrutinized the accounts in which each people records its ancient times. Introducing the

[28] Geer 1947, vol. 9, p. 283.
[29] For further examples, see McDougall 1997, s.v. βάρβαρος.

division of his work into chapters, he states that the first three are devoted to the antiquities of the barbarians, while the next three almost solely to that of the Greeks (αἱ μὲν προηγούμεναι τρεῖς τὰς βαρβαρικάς, αἱ δ' ἑξῆς σχεδὸν τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαιολογίας, I.4.5–6). Diodorus clearly distinguishes between the Greeks and the rest of the peoples, whom he terms "barbarians". This observation appears again when he refers to the antiquity of each race (did the Greeks precede the barbarians or vice versa?), and when he explains the reasons for opening his history with the barbarians (I.9.3–5). One may also trace it in his description of the foundation of a colony in Sardinia by Iolaus, Heracles' nephew, where the settlers were composed both of Greeks and barbarians (Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων, V.15.1), and in his discussion of the structure of the works both of Ephorus and Diyllus, which consisted of the deeds of the Greeks and the barbarians (τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, XVI.76.5–6).

The origins of this view go back to the fifth century BCE. The word βάρβαρος is, of course, older: Homer named the people of Caria βαρβαροφώνοι, yet he meant only that they spoke a vulgar and incomprehensible language.[30] The pan-Hellenic sentiment emerged during the archaic period, as attested to, for instance, by the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games, in which men from all over the Greek world took part. Yet the Persian Wars gave rise to the division of humanity into two groups: Greeks and non-Greeks. The latter received the title "barbarians". The differences were first and foremost linguistic—Greek versus unintelligible languages[31]—and political—democratic regimes versus monarchies,[32] but such differences were also to be seen in the ethnic origin of the two groups, their culture, customs and life-styles.[33]

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[30] Hom., *Il.*, II.867.

[31] E.g. Aesch., *Pers.*, 402–406, 635; Ar., *Ach.*, 100–102; Hdt., II.158.

[32] E.g. Eur., *Hel.*, 273–276; Hdt., I.96, II.147.

[33] E.g. Aesch., *Pers.*, 371, *Supp.*, 836–842, 904; Eur., *Andr.*, 243–244, *Hec.*, 1247–1248; Hdt., IV.74–77, V.5–6. For the role of the Persian Wars in cultivating Greek collective identity, see Diller 1962, pp. 39–68; Hall 1997, pp. 40–51; Hall 2002, pp. 172–189; Mitchell 2007, pp. 10–19, 77–85, 128–129. For a discussion of the criteria by which Greeks and barbarians were identified and which mark the distinctions between these races see, for example, Haarhoff 1948, pp. 51–59; Baldry 1965, pp. 20–24, 80–84; Hartog 1988, pp. 322–340; Hall 1989, passim; Dubuisson 2001, 1–16; Hall 2002, pp. 111–117; Mitchell 2007, pp. 23–29, 129–136. See also Momigliano 1975, pp. 7–21. It is worth mentioning the treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*, attributed to Hippocrates, in which climate is considered as a vital cause for the differences between the inhabitants of Europe and those of Asia. See esp. chaps. 12, 16, 23–24 and Lloyd 1991, p. 425; Tuplin 1999, pp. 67–69; Thomas 2000, pp. 86–98; Gruen 2006, pp. 295–296. In chap. 16 it is made clear that the "barbarians" are the native inhabitants of Asia, as opposed to the Greeks who lived there.

The new sense of the term "barbarian" is presented in Aeschylus' *Persians*, which was performed on stage in Athens a short while after the failure of Xerxes' invasion (472 BCE). The author employs phrases such as "the Persians and the entire barbarian race" and finds dissimilarities between their behaviour and that of the Greeks as, for example, in his description of the unorganized retreat of the barbarian fleet, contrasted with the order and the obedience of the Greeks.[34] According to Euripides, the political regime of the barbarians was inferior to that of the Greeks since all men, except for one, were slaves. He argues that the barbarians were lawless and savage, yet he seems to think that not all of them shared the same manners. Rather, some of his barbarian characters arouse the sympathy of the reader: the Trojan Andromache, for instance, and not the Spartan Hermione who slandered her.[35]

Herodotus' attitude towards the "others" is also twofold. He shows interest in foreign peoples and appreciates them, but opens his work with a sharp distinction between Greeks and non-Greeks, while explicating the aim of his treatise: to maintain the memory of the great deeds performed by Greeks and barbarians (τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι) and to explain why they had fought one another.[36] Thucydides draws a sharper line between Greeks and barbarians. He analyses the process during which the Greeks were separated from other peoples and the emergence of two titles, Greeks and barbarians. He also records a speech of a Spartan commander who, intending to encourage his soldiers, elucidates the inferior position of the barbarians. In addition, Thucydides argues that the Thracians were extremely cruel, as befitting the worst of the barbarians.[37] Xenophon's approach is slightly different. He does not regard the barbarians as a homogeneous group, but believes that there were both worthy men and savages such as the Mossynoecians among them.

[34] Aesch., *Pers.*, 374, 422–423, 434.

[35] Eur., *Hel.*, 273–276, *Or.*, 485, *Andr.*, 170–231 (esp. 173–176), 243. See Saïd 2002, pp. 62–100, who demontrates that, according to Euripides, Greek men can behave like barbarians, thus his tragedies prove that the boundary dividing the Greeks from the barbarians can easily be crossed. The barbarians and their distinctive characteristics when compared with the Greeks appear also in comedies. Aristophanes, for instance, records the unintelligible muttering of a Persian delegate (Ar., *Ach.*, 100–102), and the rough language of a Scythian archer (*Thes.*, 1070–1175). See Long 1986, passim. For the treatment of the barbarians and the "others" in the Greek visual art, see e.g. Lissarrague 2002, pp. 101–124; Mitchell 2007, pp. 132–136.

[36] Hdt., I.1.

[37] Thuc., I.1.1–6.6, IV.126.3–6, VII.29.4.

Moreover, he made the barbarian, Cyrus, the leading character of his *Cyropaedia*, a significant fact even in a narrative which is basically imaginary.[38]

The notion that the *oikoumene* consisted of Greeks and barbarians prevailed also in the philosophical circles. Isocrates urged the Greeks (including the Macedonians) to put an end to the quarrels among them and to unite against the barbarians.[39] Plato claimed that the Greeks and the barbarians were enemies by nature; he also argued, as mentioned, that there was one way to treat the defeated Greeks and another to deal with the conquered barbarians. Similarly, Aristotle considered the barbarians equal to slaves.[40] Notwithstanding Plato's firm statement, certain doubts concerning this strict dichotomy may be traced between his lines, as he indicates that the peoples, to whom a single name, i.e. barbarians, was given, have no relation in blood or language to one another.[41]

Alexander the Great marks a major change. Although he had been advised to treat the Greeks as friends (τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ὡς φίλοις χρῆσθαι) but the barbarians as enemies (τοῖς δὲ βαρβάροις ὡς πολεμίοις), he ignored his advisers, conferring benefits upon many men of good reputation regardless of their ethnicity.[42] To judge from Plutarch, Aristotle may have counselled Alexander to distinguish between Greeks and the rest of the peoples. He adds that the king believed that he had been

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[38] Xen., *Anab.*, V.4 and see Hirsch 1985. Unlike Diodorus' spelling mentioned above, Xenophon writes Mossynoecians with double σ.

[39] Isoc., IV.17, 131, 157, 160–166, V.9.

[40] Pl., *Resp.*, 470c–471c, cf. *Leg.*, III.692c, 693a; Arist., *Pol.*, I.1.5 (1252b), I.2.19 (1255a), I.3.8 (1256b), III.9.3 (1285a).

[41] Pl. *Plt.*, 262a–263a. If one reads Diodorus' description of those settled in Alesia, referred to earlier, against this background, then the assumption that he did not believe in a simplistic division of mankind into two groups is reinforced. For the interpretation of Plato's words as criticism of the simplistic division see, for example, Baldry 1965, pp. 82–84; Gruen 2006, p. 296 and, in contrast, Haarhoff 1948, pp. 66–67; Benardete 1986, pp. 87–88; see also Hirsch 1985, pp. 142–145. For a discussion of the term "barbarian" and its development in the Classical period see, among others, Haarhoff 1948, pp. 6–71; Baldry 1965, pp. 20–112; Long 1986, passim; Hall 1986, passim; Hartog 1988, passim; Cartledge 1993, esp. pp, 36–62, 138–140, 143–145; Tuplin 1999, pp. 47–75; Mitchell 2007, passim. See also Isaac 2004, pp. 255–298 for the Greek attitude towards the "others" in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, and Nippel 2002, pp. 278–310, who includes the Hellenistic era in his discussion of the Greeks and the "others".

[42] Eratosthenes ap. Strabo, I.4.9 C 66–67, where Alexander's action is regarded as an acceptance of the advice which had been given him for he understood its true meaning, that is, to divide men into good and bad and not according to race. See Haarhoff 1948, pp. 69–70; Tarn 1966, p. 247; Isaac 2004, pp. 299–301. For Alexander and pan-Hellenism, see Flower 2000, passim (note his reference to "the advice", pp. 121–123).

chosen by the gods to be a governor common to all (κοινὸς … ἁρμοστής) and a mediator for all (διαλλακτὴς τῶν ὅλων). Some of the peoples he had won through persuasion, others he occupied by force of arms. Thus he united all men into one body, blending together their lives, traits and customs in a large bowl of friendship (ἐν κρατῆρι φιλοτησίῳ). He further implored them to regard the entire inhabited world as their fatherland and his camp as their fortification, to consider good men as their relatives and the wicked as foreigners. They should not differentiate the Greeks from the barbarians by their clothing. Rather, the Greek should be marked by virtue, while the barbarian by evil (τὸ μὲν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀρετῇ τὸ δὲ βαρβαρικὸν κακίᾳ τεκμαίρεσθαι). It was Alexander who gave effect to the idea of the unity of mankind, of which philosophers such as Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, had written.[43] It seems as though Arrian's description of the banquet held by Alexander after the Opis incident validates Plutarch's statement. Macedonians, Persians and other tribes who excelled in a certain virtue were sitting side by side during the feast. Alexander and his companions drank from the same bowl and the king prayed for various blessings, one of which was for unity and fellowship (καὶ ὁμονοιάν τε καὶ κοινωνίαν) between Macedonians and Persians.[44]

Plutarch's biography of Alexander offers additional information which might shed light on the king's beliefs and his contribution to the change in the treatment of the "other" in the Hellenistic era. While in Egypt, Alexander listened to the talk of a local philosopher, being especially moved by his saying that all human beings are ruled by a god (ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι βασιλεύονται ὑπὸ θεοῦ). Although agreeing that the god is a father common to all men (ὡς πάντων μὲν ὄντα κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων πατέρα τὸν θεόν), Alexander maintained that the god favoured the best (τοὺς ἀρίστους) of them as his own.[45] It is reasonable to assume that the Egyptian's saying gained the hearing of the king since it implied that he himself was divine, whereas the king's own addition may have been the result of his conviction that he had been chosen by Ammon.[46] Yet the similarities among all human beings and the idea of unity are stressed once again.

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[43] Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, 6, 8 (*Mor.*, 329a–d, 330d–e).
[44] Arr., VII.11.8–9.
[45] Plut., *Alex.*, 27.6.
[46] Tarn 1966, p. 265.

Who initiated this notion? Our sources do not allow us to determine with any certainty that it was Alexander; nonetheless, and though Plutarch offers the name of Zeno, it is quite possible that the king was the originator.[47] We need not linger over this issue. In order to establish Diodorus' inspiration for the use that he made of the term βάρβαρος and to examine whether its appearance in the stories of mythical heroes accords with the reality of his days, one should inspect the developments after Alexander. It is safe to say that Greek thought underwent a tremendous change in the Hellenistic era. The change in the treatment of the "other" did not occur immediately after Alexander's death; it was a gradual process, penetrating both the philosophical writings and the relationships among peoples and states. Concomitantly, the traditional view concerning the differences among peoples did not completely disappear.

The word κοσμοπολίτης, citizen of the world, may be traced back to the time of Alexander, for it had been used by the Cynics. This was the response of Diogenes who was, according to some scholars, the initiator of the idea of human unity, when asked where he came from. However, the term κοσμοπολίτης, as his phrase which suggests that the only true citizenship is that of the universe (μόνην τε ὀρθὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι τὴν ἐν κόσμῳ),[48] does not prove that a universal state or the unity of mankind are meant. The Cynic did not regard each and every city as his home but, being indifferent to all of them, he considered nature as his only residence. The word κόσμος, therefore, implies nature as a whole. Others maintain that its meaning for the Cynic was "the inhabited world", but there are also some scholars who suppose that all these sayings were attributed to Diogenes by mistake.[49] Interestingly, Onesicritus, Diogenes' pupil and successor, joined Alexander's expedition and wrote his laudation.[50]

Theophrastus, head of the Peripatetic school after Alexander's death, claimed that there was only one species of human beings; subsequently,

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[47] For discussions of this question, see Fisch 1937, pp. 59–82, 129–144; Tarn 1939, pp. 41–70; Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 399–449; Haarhoff 1948, pp. 2, 72–85; Badian 1958b, pp. 425–444; Baldry 1965, pp. 113–127; Tarn 1966, passim; Bosworth 1980, pp. 1–21; Worthington 2004, 296–297 and passim.

[48] Diog. Laert., VI.63, 72.

[49] See Tarn 1948, vol. 2, pp. 404–409; Haarhoff 1948, pp. 82, 97–99; Baldry 1965, pp. 101–112; Dudley 1967, pp. 17–39 esp. 34–36; Aalder 1975, pp. 53–73 esp. 56–57; Moles 2000, pp. 415–434.

[50] Diog. Laert., VI.84.

all men were related by blood.[51] Epicurus maintained that there was no natural unity among men, but he also believed friendship to be more fertile and more delightful than any other means to happiness. He practised what he preached, having many friends, united by affection, in his small house.[52] According to Zeno, not all men were citizens but merely the good. He did not divide men into racial groups, that is, Greeks versus barbarian, yet he distinguished between the worthy and the unworthy.[53]

The views of the geographer and philosopher Eratosthenes constitute another step towards a change in the perception of the relationship between men. Unlike his predecessors, he did not settle for criticizing the division of mankind into Greeks and barbarians, but offered to divide them according to good quality and bad quality (ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ διαιρεῖν). For there were many bad Greeks, on the one hand, and many refined and clever barbarians, on the other; among the latter Eratosthenes lists the Indians, the Arians, the Romans and the Carthaginians who conducted their governments wisely. His argument proves once again that the type of government was one of the criteria by which Greeks and barbarians were differentiated. Furthermore, his examples—especially Rome and Carthage—reveal the influence of the events of his days.[54] The impact of the war between these two powers is better demonstrated in Polybius, who marks a further stage *en route* for consolidating the notion of the unity of mankind. The assumption that both the rise of Rome and the progress made in the field of geography contributed to this development is reinforced by the work of this historian, who also showed interest in geography. Explaining his beliefs concerning the history of the human race, he clarifies this point: until the Hannibalic War, the deeds of the inhabited world had been dispersed (σποράδας εἶναι … τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις), but since this war the affairs of the Italians and the Libyans were entangled (συμπλέκεσθαί) with those of the inhabitants of Asia and Greece. For this reason, according to Polybius, the writing of universal history, embracing entire peoples, was in demand. Moreover,

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[51] Porph., *Abst.*, II.22.1–2, III.25.1–4.

[52] Cic., *Fin.*, I.65.

[53] Diog. Laert., VII.33; Stob., *Ecl.*, II.7, 11g p. 99, 3W (cited according to von Armin 1964, vol. 1, pp. 52–53 no. 216). Plutarch's statement (Plut., *De Alex. Fort.*, 6 [*Mor.*, 329b]), according to which Zeno argued that all men should be the members of one community and one state, may be false. See Baldry 1965, pp. 159–160; Tarn 1966, p. 255.

[54] Strabo, I.4.9 C 66.

as shown above, he does not use the word "barbarians" when protesting against the complete destruction of a city by a conqueror (though using it more than ninety times throughout his work). Whereas Plato argues that Greeks and barbarians should be treated differently by the captor, it appears that Polybius deliberately omits the term "barbarians", having expressed his reluctance towards those who take revenge on those of their own race (εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους).[55] Interestingly, the word is also missing from Diodorus' narrative when he touches upon the same subject. In II.36.6, referred to above, he states: among other peoples (παρὰ … τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις) the enemies devastate the land and prevent its future cultivation; the Indians kill one another in the battle-field but abstain from spoiling the soil or injuring those who cultivate it.

Cicero provides valuable information concerning the manner in which the relationship among peoples and individuals was referred to in the second and the first centuries BCE. In addition to revealing his own opinion, he reviews those of others, be they philosophers or politicians. Among these one may find the Stoics Panaetius (second century BCE) and Posidonius (first century BCE), whose works he probably used in his *De Officiis* (Panaetius) and *De Natura Deorum* (Posidonius).[56] The latter, for example, claimed the world to be the common habitat of gods and men, since they alone use reason and live by the law. The absence of any division into races and peoples is obvious. A dialogue between Scipio Aemilianus and Laelius (129 BCE) uncovers the beliefs of contemporary Romans. Scipio asks whether Romulus was a king of barbarians, and Laelius replies that if, as the Greeks say, all men are either Greeks or barbarians, indeed he was; but if this name is given according to customs (*moribus*), rather than languages (*non linguis*), he does not deem the Greeks less barbarous than the Romans. Scipio, arguing in favour of monarchy, states that not so long ago prudent men had desired to be ruled by kings, and adds that he is going to prove this through witnesses who are neither very old nor uncivilized and savage (*neque inhumanis ac feris*).[57] This short paragraph shows, to begin with, that memories of the division into Greeks and barbarians were still in existence, and that language used to be an

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[55] Polyb., I.3.1–4.11 (esp. 3.3–4), XXIII.15.1–3. For Polybius' use of the term "barbarians", see Eckstein 1995, pp. 119–125; Champion 2004, pp. 245–253 and passim; for applying it to the Romans, see Erskine 2000, pp. 165–182. A search in the *TLG* reveals that βάρβαρος (or related words) appears ninety-four times in the *Histories*.

[56] See e.g. Baldry 1965, pp. 179–190.

[57] Cic., *Nat. D.*, II.154, cf. 164–165; *Rep.*, I.58.

essential criterion by which the two groups were distinguished. Secondly, the separation of mankind into groups did not disappear, but underwent some changes. The circle of those who were not barbarians was enlarged to include the Romans, and emphasis was put on customs and manners as criteria. Thirdly, monarchy, connected by the Greeks with the barbarians and considered as another factor to distinguish between peoples, was no longer a bad regime. Finally, the adjectives *inhumanus* and *ferus*, replacing *barbarus* in Scipio's concluding sentence, attest to a change—it was no longer Greeks versus barbarians—but also confirm that the human race was still divided—into the civilized and the savages.[58]

This seems to be the atmosphere in Diodorus' days. Admittedly, the above conversation took place at the end of the second century BCE, yet one should bear in mind that it was written in the first century BCE, probably between 51 and 44 BCE.[59] Examining other treatises of Cicero proves that the traditional views, according to which there were fundamental differences among various groups of people, continued along with the notion of the unity of mankind which had come into question. Cicero confesses to have frequently related to the issue of humane fellowship (*humana societas*), and brings up ideas such as the following: reason (*ratio*) exists both in man and god; they share both right reason (*recta ratio*), which is actually a law (*lex*), and justice (*ius*). Thus the universe is one commonwealth of both gods and men (*una civitas communis deorum atque hominum*), and the whole human race is united together (*omne genus hominum sociatum inter se*). Nevertheless, indications of distinguishing between peoples in "the old-fashioned way", so to speak, including the use of the term "barbarian", may be found even in Cicero. In a letter to his brother, dating from 60 BCE, he maintains that the Romans should treat the Greeks properly because they were the creators of culture (*humanitas*) which was spread to others. And, though he believes that all peoples should be honestly dealt with, the Greeks are singled out since the Romans owe them a special debt for what they had learnt from them. Elsewhere Cicero describes how Themistocles, forced to leave his homeland, escaped not to the harbours of Greece (*non in Graeciae portus*), but

[58] Dealing with the second century BCE, Plautus (d. c. 184 BCE) is also worth mentioning. The appearance of the word "barbarian" in his plays is further evidence that the division into Greeks and barbarians did not cease to exist. As much as it was used for humour, one cannot ignore ascribing this adjective to the Latin language, to Italian cities or to the poet Naevius (e.g. *Asin.*, 11, *Capt.*, 884, *Miles.*, 211, *Mostell.*, 828).

[59] Cic., *QFr.*, III.5.1, *Div.*, II.3.

to the bays of the barbarian land (*sed in barbariae sinus*). In one of his speeches against Antony, he maintained that his rival's cruelty surpassed all barbarism (*omnis barbaria*).[60]

Cicero is not the only author among Diodorus' contemporaries who drifts between urging human unity and employing the word "barbarian". Virgil states that the god passes through all things—the earth, the sea and the heaven; from him men and animals of every sort draw and unto him they return. Yet, although seldom using the term "barbarian", he applies it to emphasize cruel and disgraceful human behaviour and, like Cicero, to describe Antony. Here is Antony, he writes, with his barbaric power (*ope barbarica*) and varied arms, followed by his Egyptian wife, O shame (*nefas*).[61] Since Virgil also refers to Antony's deeds in the East, is it not possible that he hints that part of Antony's barbarism stemmed from his connections with eastern peoples in general, and with an Egyptian woman in particular?

The word "barbarian", then, continued to be in use during the first century BCE. It can be traced both in Latin and Greek literature, in works such as those of Caesar, Livy, Horace, Ovid, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo, who even discusses the term in detail on three occasions.[62] It is not always a racial difference that the authors wished to highlight; rather, quite often, they emphasized cultural and behavioural differences. Yet their actual use of the word—with its meanings and history—indicates that their attitude towards the "other" had many faces. Some of Julius Caesar's accomplishments, for instance, accord well with the theory of the unity of mankind. He allowed men who had been given Roman citizenship in the senate, including, if Suetonius is to be trusted, half-barbarian (*semibarbari*) Gauls. But, at the same time, he depicted a

60 Cic., *Off.*, III.31, 69, *Leg.*, I.22–39, esp. 22–23, 32, *QFr.*, I.1.27–28, *Rep.*, I.5, *Phil.*, XI.6 (cf. XIII.18). For the philosophers whose views were mentioned above, and for the philosophical sects of the Hellenistic era in general, see the following studies: Baldry 1965; Dudley 1967; Long 1974; Aalders 1975; Long, Sedley 1987, vol. 1; Erskine 1990; Algra, Barnes, Mansfeld, Schofield 1999; Rowe, Schofield 2000, pp. 401–516. For the philosophical impact on Diodorus, see e.g. Spoerri 1959, passim; Sacks 1990, passim; Green 2006, pp. 19–24.

61 God: Verg., *G.*, IV.221–227, *Aen.*, VI.724–751; cruel behaviour: *Aen.*, I.539, *Ecl.*, I.70–71; Antony: *Aen.*, VIII.685–688.

62 For example, Caes., *B Gall.*, I.31, II.35; Liv., XXX.11.9; Hor., *Carm.*, I.27.1–4, *Epist.*, I.2.7; Ov., *Tr.*, V.10.37; Dion., Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, I.16.1; Strabo, VII.3.7 C 301, 7.1 C 321, his thorough discussions: I.4.9 C 66–67, VIII.6.6 C 370, XIV.2.28 C 661–663 and see Dueck 2000, pp. 75–84.

certain German king, against whom he was fighting, as a barbarian, irascible and thoughtless.[63]

The mention of Caesar leads us to a discussion of the manifestation, *de facto*, of the change in the treatment of the "other" in the Hellenistic period. As in the literature of the time, both upholding and blurring the differences between peoples who were "worth more" and those who were "worth less" co-existed. Polybius, who visited Alexandria in Egypt, describes social conditions which he finds unbearable in the city. Its inhabitants were divided into three classes: the native Egyptians, quick to anger and not inclined to deal with affairs of state; the mercenaries, numerous, severe and unmanageable; and the Alexandrians, who also did not find political affairs very appealing, yet they were thought better than the native Egyptians since, even though they were a mixed group of people, they were originally Greeks and aware of the Greek customs.[64] Apart from uncovering a lack of unity in a Hellenistic city, Polybius' approach is interesting: the Greeks are considered better than the local inhabitants. Another revealing instance is that of Cato the Elder, who resented the presence of Athenian philosophers in Rome. Seeing that young Roman men followed them enthusiastically and fearing lest they might be influenced, he expressed his feelings in the senate. Plutarch, who tells the story, adds that he ridiculed the Greek culture and education, while Pliny cites Cato's warning to his son, forbidding him to be in contact with Greek physicians. Cato termed the Greeks worthless people, arguing that their literature was capable of corrupting all things and that their physicians conspired to kill the "barbarians", a term which he repeated, explaining that this was the name which the Greeks had given the Romans.[65] The Roman world provides two further examples relevant to the present study. At the end of the second century and during the first century BCE, certain parties in Rome countered initiatives to confer Roman citizenship upon foreigners. Such opposition occurred, for instance, when Marius bestowed citizenship upon people such as Titus Matrinius of Spoletium, a Latin colony in Italy.[66] Cicero, who recounts

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[63] Suet., *Iul.*, 76, 80 (cf. Cic., *Fam.*, IX.15.2); Caes., *B Gall.*, I.31. For Caesar's discussion of the Gauls and the Germans, see Riggsby 2006, pp. 47–71.

[64] Quoted in Strabo, XVII.1.12 C 797.

[65] Plut., *Cat. Mai.*, 22.4–23.1; Plin., *NH*, VII.112–113, XXIX.14. For Cato's attitude towards Hellenism, see Astin 1978, pp. 157–181; Gruen 1992, pp. 52–83; Isaac 2004, pp. 385–387.

[66] Cic., *Balb.*, 48; see also 46–51 for examples of enfranchisement given by Cicero.

this incident, himself censured the benefits which Antony had conferred upon individuals, cities and whole provinces, including the grant of Roman citizenship.[67]

Yet the last two cases expose the other side of the coin. The Romans' policy concerning their citizenship underwent a change which reflects an increasing tolerance towards foreigners, even though there were domestic disagreements. Other enlightening instances are those of the two Balbi, who received Roman citizenship from Pompey the Great in 72 BCE, and Caesar's enterprise in 49 BCE, conferring Roman civil rights upon the entire population of Gadeira (the hometown of the Balbi) and upon the Gauls.[68] To mention the Greeks again: after the First Illyrian War, they invited the Roman ambassadors visiting Greece to attend the Isthmian Games.[69] This act marked a turning point in the manner in which the Greeks treated those whom, not long earlier, they had called "barbarians". Several years later, however, at the same gathering, the pan-Hellenic games in the Isthmus, it was the Romans who administered the event, in the course of which Flamininus, who had recently defeated Philip V of Macedon, declared that the Greeks should be free.[70] A short paragraph in Pliny summarizes the changes in the relationship between the two peoples: Cato the Elder always advised that Greeks should be expelled from Italy but his great-grandson, Cato the Younger, brought home with him two Greek philosophers. The identity of these is unknown, and it may well be that the philosopher whom Cato is said to have brought from Cyprus is merely the statue of Zeno, but this does not matter here. The fact remains that, as Pliny further states, the elder Cato wished to banish the Greek language, whereas the other wanted to introduce it to Rome. So great was the change of customs (*quanta morum commutatio*), Pliny asserts,[71] and this change, one may add, was felt in Diodorus' days. Moreover, the development in the attitude of the Romans towards other peoples was not restricted to their relationship with the Greeks. According to Suetonius, at the beginning of the principate, Augustus restored kingdoms that he had conquered to those from whom they had been taken, or annexed them to other foreign peoples. He encouraged intermarriage

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67 Cic., *Phil.*, III.10.

68 Balbi: Cic., *Balb.*, 5–6, 19, 32; Plin., *NH*, V.36, VII.136. Gadeira: Cic., *Balb.*, 43; Liv., *Per.*, 110; Dio, XLI.24.1; cf. Caes., *B Civ.*, II.18. Gauls: Suet., *Iul.*, 76.3; Dio, XLI.36.3; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, XI.24.

69 Polyb., II.12.8.

70 Polyb., XVIII.46.1–15; Liv., XXXIII.32.1–10.

71 Plin., *NH*, VII.112–113.

and friendships among these kings and treated them as members of the empire. He even took care that some of their children would be educated with his own.[72]

The situation in Diodorus' days, then, was one in which conflicting approaches existed: acceptance and tolerance towards the "other", on the one hand; conservatism and distinctions between peoples according to racial and cultural factors, on the other. Diodorus reflects on both aspects of the period. He differentiates between Greeks and barbarians, yet his history combines the records of both ethnic groups and acknowledges the importance of the latter. His heroes benefited all the peoples, but the fact that the barbarians enjoyed their services is emphasized. Furthermore, Alesia was settled by a mixture of people, including the local barbarians. They had been blended, intermarried and became one entity, barbarian in its nature. Diodorus simply notes this piece of information, without criticizing it or revealing his opinion, as if there were nothing exceptional about it. Against this, one may detect allusions to certain criteria by which Greeks and barbarians were distinguished: monarchy is typical of the barbarians (Osiris killed Lycurgus, king of the barbarians); barbarians had a different language, possibly an unintelligible one (barbarian guards watched over the workers in the gold mines of Egypt in order to prevent friendly contacts between them); the nature and customs of the barbarians are different.

To the above instances of the last point I would like to add two further cases. The first, in describing the famine in Pydna during the time in which the city was besieged by Cassander, Diodorus states that some of the barbarians (ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων), whose nature was prevailing over their reverence (τῆς φύσεως κατισχυούσης τὴν εὐλάβειαν), consumed the flesh of the dead bodies (XIX.49.4). The second, in a fragment of uncertain location, Diodorus maintains that, being whipped, the barbarian bore the suffering patiently like a beast (καθάπερ θηρίον ἐκαρτέρει), his eyes and the colour of his skin remaining unchanged (*Suda*, s.v. Χρῶμα).

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[72] Suet., *Aug.*, 48. For the term "barbarian" among the Romans and changes in their treatment of the "other", see Haarhoff 1948, pp. 119–284; Sherwin-White 1967, passim; Balsdon 1979, esp. pp. 30–71, 82–96; Dauge 1981, passim; Thompson 1989, passim; Dench 1995, pp. 72–108 and passim. For the relations among Greeks, Romans, Eastern peoples and Western tribes in the Hellenistic era, for the reciprocal cultural and religious impact, and the consequent change in the attitude towards the "other" see, for example, Nock 1933, pp. 33–137; Momigliano 1975, passim; Browning 1989, chap. II, pp. 1–9; Hall 2002, pp. 220–226.

Comparing the barbarian to an animal, i.e. dehumanizing him, reminds us of earliest attitudes towards the "other". But, simultaneously, Diodorus makes use of the term ὁμόνοια (unity), which turns his narrative into a true representative of the twofold position of his days. According to him, Dionysus helped to end the quarrels between peoples and cities, and created unity and deep peace (ὁμόνοιαν καὶ πολλὴν εἰρήνην, III.64.7). The Curetes, sons of Zeus, taught mankind how to live together and were the originators of concord and of a certain good order (ὁμονοίας καί τινος εὐταξίας ἀρχηγούς, V.65.3). The term may be found elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke*, both in its mythological and historical sections, but a most enlightening case is its use by Diodorus in his account of the unaccomplished plans of Alexander the Great. Apparently, the king intended to settle Asians in Europe and Europeans in Asia in order to encourage intermarriage and family ties and to establish common unity and friendship among kinsfolk (εἰς κοινὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συγγενικὴν φιλίαν, XVIII.4.4). The question whether Alexander's memoranda, as cited by Diodorus, are authentic has no relevance here. The author must have believed that they were genuine; otherwise he would not have incorporated them in his account. Moreover, the king's plan, referred to above, shows that Diodorus was well aware of the notion of the unity of mankind, attributed to Alexander and developed during the Hellenistic era, and introduced it in his work.

Diodorus may have also drawn on recent events. Strabo depicts Julius Caesar as being fond of Alexander (φιλαλέξανδρος) and as emulating Alexander (ζηλώσας … Ἀλέξανδρον).[73] Though the geographer uses these phrasings in an attempt to explain Caesar's kindness towards the inhabitants of Ilium, one gets the impression that he refers to an "enduring" trait of Caesar's character. This assumption is reinforced by Caesar's reaction, facing the statue of Alexander in the temple of Heracles in Gadeira. For, having lamented that at his age he had done nothing worth mentioning while Alexander at the same point in his life had already brought the world under his sway, he asked for permission to return to Rome in order to take upon himself greater enterprises.[74] Moreover, Velleius Paterculus states that in many respects (such as the magnitude of his ideas and his military skills) Caesar resembled Alexander.[75] Taking

[73] Strabo, XIII.1.27 C 594.
[74] Suet., *Iul.*, 7.1; Dio, XXXVII.52.2. For the extremely problematic nature of such stories as historical evidence, see Strasburger 1938, esp. pp. 12, 94–97.
[75] Vell. Pat., II.41.1–2.

into consideration Caesar's attitude towards foreigners—reflected in his willingness to confer Roman citizenship upon the inhabitants of Gadeira and the Gauls, as previously mentioned, or in his desire to built libraries composed both of Greek and Latin books[76]—one may assume that he also embraced Alexander's vision of the unity of mankind; or that this was, at least, what his contemporaries thought. In this, Diodorus was not alone. Varro, who wrote his *De Gente Populi Romani* in the same years as Diodorus, speaks of an enlarged circle of friendship, which includes the members of the family, the citizens of the city, the people in the entire world (*in orbe toto*)—namely, peoples whom humane society (*societas humana*) joins together—and the gods.[77] Varro states that he drew on the authority of Antiochus of Ascalon, whose lectures Cicero also used to attend. Yet Varro was also related to Caesar, as attested to by the latter's wish to put him in charge of the above-mentioned libraries.[78] In addition, as argued in the first part of this study, in his *De Gente Populi Romani*, written at the time in which Caesar's deification was under discussion in Rome, Varro frequently refers to the idea of ruler's apotheosis. Thus it is probable that, like Diodorus, Varro was inspired, at least partly, by Caesar's beliefs and deeds when he touched upon the notion of the unity of mankind.

When Diodorus deals with the religious practices of his heroes, his terminology changes. The recipients are no longer those hospitable towards the missionary, readily accepting him or those who, on the other hand, resisted his deeds. They are not even the Greeks or the barbarians. Dionysus introduced his rites and mysteries to those among men who were pious and conducted a life of justice (τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀκοῦσι, III.64.7). He showed all zeal to punish the impious and the bad people (τὴν ἅπασαν σπουδὴν ἔχειν εἰς κόλασιν μὲν τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ πονηρῶν) and, at the same time, to confer benefaction upon the masses (εὐεργεσίαν δὲ τῶν ὄχλων, III.61.5, cf. 65.2–3, 7). In a slightly different wording, Diodorus repeats this item: Dionysus punished the unjust and the impious among men (τοὺς ἀδίκους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κολάζειν), and yet worked for the benefit of the entire human race (εὐεργεσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, III.72.4, IV.2.6). One may find one more reference to the recipients in Heracles'

[76] Suet., *Iul.*, 44.2.
[77] Ap. August., *De Civ. D.*, XIX.3.
[78] Suet., *Iul.*, 44.2.

tale: venerated by an Iberian king, a man who excelled in piety and justice (ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφέροντος), the hero granted him a portion of the cattle which he was leading (IV.18.3).

Similar phrases may be found elsewhere in the *Bibliotheke*, unrelated to the stories of the six heroes examined here. Men who had participated in the mysteries in Samothrace, for instance, became more pious and more righteous (εὐσεβεστέρους καὶ δικαιοτέρους, V.49.6). Zeus removed the impious and the bad people (τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηρούς) from among men (V.71.6, cf. 71.2), while his son, Tantalus, was punished by being placed among the impious (εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, IV.74.2). In the historical section of the work, referring to Alexander's desire to gratify his mother and to Antipater's displeasure, Diodorus uses the phrase διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβές (through the piety towards the divinity, XVII.118.1). Recounting Scipio's capture of the Carthaginian envoys, he employs both ἀσεβεῖς, to describe the behaviour of the Carthaginians who made an attempt to kill the Roman ambassadors, and εὐσέβεια, to depict the conduct of the Romans, who did not take revenge but released the Carthaginian envoys they had captured (XXVII.12.1).

Hence the recipients of the religious message were the pious (εὐσεβεῖς) and the righteous (δίκαιοι), the impious (ἀσεβεῖς) and the unrighteous (ἄδικοι).[79] Εὐσεβεῖς and ἀσεβεῖς were the accepted terms used by authors in discussing religious affairs. Herodotus, for instance, recounts the story of Sethon, priest of Hephaestus and king of Egypt who, being terrified of Sennacherib's invasion and deserted by his soldiers, went to the temple and bewailed to the statue of the god the danger awaiting him. As the god promised him help, Sethon had gone into battle and overcame his enemies due to a multitude of mice which devoured their arms during the night. Since then, Herodotus adds, the image of this king stood in the temple of Hephaestus with an inscription saying that whoever looked on it, should be εὐσεβής (pious).[80] Thucydides, describing the savagery into which the *stasis* in Greece deteriorated, states that no one had any regard for εὐσέβεια (piety) as many acts of violence were committed, including some under the roof of temples. He also employs the word ἀσέβημα (a

[79] See Mendels 1996, pp. 450–451 who maintains that the resemblance between the terms employed by Diodorus and those of Luke in the *Book of Acts* "may indicate that Luke wished to describe Paul's missionary acts in a manner that would be familiar to the pagans among his audience".

[80] Hdt., II.141 and see also II.133. For his use of ἀσεβεῖν (to commit an act of impiety), see I.159, II.139.

profane act) in relation to the damage caused to the stone statues of Hermes in Athens on the eve of the Sicilian expedition.[81] Polybius, referring to Alexander's destruction of Thebes mentioned above, emphasizes that the king did not neglect his piety towards the gods (πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας) but, rather, took care not to cause any damage to holy places. Elsewhere, recording Philip V conduct in 218 BCE, Polybius states that the king had rebuked the Aetolians, Scopas and Dorimachus, for their lawlessness and savagery, making mention of their impiety towards the divinity (ἀσέβειαν εἰς τὸ θεῖον) in Dodona and Dium, while later he himself behaved in the same way.[82] Strabo, citing Homer's assertion that Ajax was hated by Athena, adds that she disliked him in accordance with her hatred of those who had shown impiety (ἀσεβησάντων) towards her temple.[83]

These are but a few cases cited in order to demonstrate that Diodorus' choice of words was not random, but deliberate. He chose words precisely to describe the recipients of the religious message conveyed by his mythical heroes. While the recipients of the cultural message were the Greeks and the barbarians, those of the religious message were the pious and the impious. Indeed, he also uses δίκαιοι and ἄδικοι, terms with a wide range of meanings,[84] but these words are always an adjunct to εὐσεβεῖς and ἀσεβεῖς. Thus the terms employed by Diodorus to depict the beneficiaries also point to the nature of the mission. If one takes this fact into consideration when discussing his definition of the word "barbarians", then it may be assumed that, in his mind, the division of mankind into two groups, Greeks and barbarians, was more cultural than racial.

Though Diodorus' references to the relationship between missionaries and recipients are relatively rare, one cannot fail to notice that the author draws, yet again, on real data. Most of the situations described in the mythological tales have parallels in history. The heroes' conduct in foreign lands resembles that of actual leaders, quite often Hellenistic, be they Greeks, Macedonians, Carthaginians or Romans. In fact, Diodorus

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[81] Piety: Thuc., III.82.8 and see 81.5; impiety: VI.27.2, VI.53.1 and also IV.98.7.

[82] Pious: Polyb., V.10.6 and see also IV.20.1, V.12.1, XVI.12.9; impious: V.11.2 and also e.g. V.9.6.

[83] Strabo, XIII.1.40 C 600–601 and see fr. 25, 27 of Book VII, IX.2.4 C 402, XI.8.6 C 513. For his use of εὐσέβεια and related words, see e.g. I.2.8 C 19, VII.3.3 C 296.

[84] An illuminating example of Diodorus' use of these words in a different context may be found in XXV.1 (cf. XXI.1.4a); quoting Epicurus, he writes: whereas the just life is undisturbed, the unjust is full of greatest troubles (τὸν μὲν δίκαιον βίον ἀτάραχον ὑπάρχειν, τὸν δὲ ἄδικον πλείστης ταραχῆς γέμειν).

found his inspiration within both the Greek and the Roman worlds, as activities such as those of Alexander in Thebes and Scipio Aemilianus in Carthage provided him with examples. Moreover, Diodorus made use of themes, such as lenient behaviour towards the vanquished and the unity of mankind, which obviously were much in vogue in his own days. Unsurprisingly, these two notions are related to his main role models, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar.

CONCLUSIONS

Diodorus must have gained some respect in earlier times. Otherwise, why would someone take certain sections of his work and publish them without his consent, as Diodorus himself claims? And why would St. Jerome write: "Diodorus Siculus, an author of Greek history, is considered famous", when he refers to the events of 49 BCE, or Theodoret cite the name of Diodorus as a source of information regarding the beliefs of previous societies? The mention of the writer's name both by the Father of the Church and the bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries CE, should not be dismissed out of hand. Jerome's entry concerning Diodorus (*Diodorus Siculus Graecae scriptor historiae clarus habetur*) comes after his reference to the beginning of the Roman Civil War (*principium belli civilis Caesaris et Pompeii*) and before his statement regarding the end of the Roman republic and the beginning of the empire (*finis reipublicae, principiumque Romani imperii*). Theodoret maintained that the Egyptians, the Phoenicians and even the Greeks had believed that the first gods were the sun, the moon, the heaven, the earth and the rest of the natural forces. He added that Plato, Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch of Chaeronea taught this (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων καὶ ὁ Σικελιώτης Διόδωρος καὶ ὁ Χαιρωνεὺς ἐδίδαξε Πλούταρχος). Interestingly, while Plato represents the classical period and Plutarch stands for the Roman age, Diodorus symbolizes the Hellenistic era. One may question Theodoret's preference, but it seems that he—quoting Diodorus throughout his work—realized that, though it was not the *opus magnum* of its time, the *Bibliotheke* was a true reflection of the Hellenistic period.[1] This aspect of Diodorus' work comes to light in each section of the present study.

The examination of the journeys of gods and culture-heroes in the first five books revealed valuable information which contributes to our understanding of Diodorus' methods in writing history and sheds light

[1] Diod., XL.8; Hieron., *Chron.*, Ol. 182; Theodoret, *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, III.23. For him quoting Diodorus, see e.g. I.21, II.95, III.6, 27–28 (the citation is made according to the Teubner edition). For Diodorus' esteem and influence among Patristic writers, see e.g. Mortley 1996, esp. pp. 160–174, 196–197, 202 (focusing on Eusebius, whose comment on Diodorus is cited above, in the Preface) and passim.

on the pagan mission in the Hellenistic era. If the first pentad had not been ignored, or neglected, it is possible that statements such as those hailing Diodorus as a mere compiler would not have prevailed. It is Books I–V and XI–XX which provide the best evidence of Diodorus' methodology, for they were preserved in their entirety. One should not neglect the first books simply because they deal with mythology. After all, Diodorus regarded myths as an integral part of history and as such treated them with due consideration.

In fact, according to Diodorus, in order to be classified as a universal history, a historical treatise should embrace the myths as well as the events of the author's own days (Part I Chapter 1). By defining the precise criteria of the genre and by adhering to these criteria in his own work, he made a significant contribution to the development of universal history. He was not the first to write a history of this type, but he was certainly the first to discuss it methodically. Moreover, he introduced his own innovations into the genre, emphasizing the chronological and geographical scope of the work. In order to compose such a wide-ranging history Diodorus relied extensively on previous authors (Part I Chapter 2). Yet the tales of the six heroes examined here—namely, those of Osiris, Sesostris, Semiramis, Myrina, Dionysus and Heracles—show that he did more than use one particular source for each story (which, a propos, he did not conceal but rather cited the names of his authorities and occasionally even declared that a certain author would be his main source for the narrative). Scrutinizing these tales revealed that he turned to other authorities, added information which he heard or saw himself, and conveyed his own thoughts and ideas. Hence there are two levels in the *Bibliotheke*. The first is based on the works of earlier historians, reflecting their own times and personal views. Motifs which are found only in the tale of one hero but not in any of the other stories or in any other part of the work probably belong to this level. Among these motifs one may find cannibalism and consanguineous marriage, which appear merely where Diodorus drew on Hecataeus of Abdera; fondness for luxury and an extravagant way of life, which point to Ctesias of Cnidus; and emphasis on islands, Lesbos in particular, which belongs to Dionysius Scytobrachion.

The other level represents Diodorus' own work, echoing his convictions and the events of his times. Motifs which pervade the work, regardless of the author whose writings Diodorus employs, attest to that. These motifs, displaying similarities in both idea and wording, occur not only throughout the first five books, but also in the rest of the *Bibliotheke*. A

significant example is the notion that conferring benefactions upon the human race will bring the benefactor immortal honour or honours equal to those of the gods. Another instance is the idea that clemency is a virtue which leaders should exercise in their dealings with their enemies. The issue of apotheosis, being a current affair from the days of Alexander the Great, drew special attention around the time of Julius Caesar's deification. The same goes for clement behaviour, a virtue which Caesar was proud of and Augustus followed. Diodorus' emphasis on topics which belonged to his own age bears out his originality. Thus this second level of the *Bibliotheke* is too important to overlook. It offers valuable information on Diodorus' state of mind, as he lived through the vicissitudes of the first century BCE, and contributes to the study of this crucial century. Furthermore, again taking into account the first level, it is my belief that it would do Diodorus wrong to argue that he was negligent in handling his sources. He probably had a large variety of treatises to choose from. Having read them, he selected those which, in his opinion, were the worthiest. Rewriting and citing them, he also introduced new material. One might regard his additions as a destruction of writings which were much better than his own. But should we expect an author to refrain from making his own mark on his composition?

The survey of Diodorus' working methods further strengthens the conjecture that he neither set out to produce nor produced an exact copy of his sources (Part I Chapter 3). This is proved, for instance, by the recurrence of certain sentences and phrases throughout the entire work, and by his comments concerning his working methods. He claims, for example, that the best way to write history is to combine three different kinds of sources: eye-witness accounts by the author himself (I.4.1), official documents (I.4.2–4) and literary sources (e.g. I.3.5, 5.1).[2] The history of Egypt proves that Diodorus tried to act according to this precept. More than once he mentions his visit to Egypt and his meetings with local priests. He also emphasizes that he saw with his own eyes the places which he describes. Moreover, although he wishes to include all the material available to him and also to add to it, he manages to cut short his descriptions of certain topics, showing his editorial skills.

Indications of the rules that Diodorus adopted in his writing can also be found in the introductions to the individual books and in their conclusions. It seems that he was aware of the complexity of his work and thus

[2] See above, Part I Chapter 3, pp. 129–132.

tried to make it more readable. The framework which he gives to the tales of the gods and heroes supports the assumption that he had such an aim. Apparently, he composed all of the six above-mentioned tales according to the same pattern. One may recognize in them an opening paragraph, remarks concerning the difficulties arising from dealing with various versions of the myth, the origin of the hero or heroine and description of his or her birth, deeds, death and concluding remarks. Moreover, as this structure resembles that of biographies written by authors such as Nepos, Plutarch and Suetonius, Diodorus' tales may themselves be considered biographies, political biographies to be precise, since his heroes' actions indicate that they are essentially political figures.[3]

Diodorus' attempts to facilitate the reading of his work may further be seen in the identical phrases that he places at the beginning and at the end of a discussion of a certain topic. Clear transitions from one issue to another and emphasis on every digression from the main subject also bear witness to these attempts. Moreover, he pays attention to the organization of the material. He wrote according to geographical areas and, whenever he could, devoted one book to one subject. An exceptional feature of his work is, however, his ability to combine both thematic and chronological arrangements of the items discussed. His efforts to create a narrative which would be easy for the reader to comprehend bore fruit; even though the *Bibliotheke* is complex and detailed, one can easily find his way through it.

Whereas the first section of the present study, dealing with Diodorus' historiographical skills, has proved his work to be a source of knowledge concerning both earlier times and the author's own days, the second part, focusing on the pagan mission, validates this finding. Diodorus' descriptions of the journeys of gods and culture-heroes, based on actual information, include references to the earliest Greek colonization on the west coast of Asia Minor, the shores of the Black Sea, Thrace, Southern Italy and Sicily, on the one hand and, on the other, allude to sites in which some of the most significant events of the first century BCE occurred (Part II Chapter 4). Furthermore, these mythical expeditions are valuable both from historical and geographical points of view. Leading his heroes to places such as Egypt, India and the region of Cumae in Italy, Diodorus' mythical discussions either add data or verify what is known of the occurrences which took place in those areas during the Hellenistic era. The

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[3] See above, Part I Chapter 3, pp. 160–161.

same may be said regarding the routes taken by the mythical figures; for these were main roads, trade routes and paths along which armies were led, hence Diodorus' descriptions provide further proof that these were in frequent use in antiquity (including Hellenistic times), occasionally referring to their advantages and shortcomings. In some cases the route taken by a mythological hero illustrates that of a historical figure, as for instance, Heracles' journey from Iberia to Italy which may be compared with Hannibal's march against Rome, and Semiramis' travelling from Babylon to Ecbatana along an actual highway and a trade route also taken by Alexander the Great.

From a geographical point of view, the selection of sites and paths examined show that each place and every road has its own significance. Some, as noted, were known for certain historical events, or became famous in the first century BCE, while others were celebrated for their unique resources. Some of the cities were trade centres, rich cities or such which were situated at important crossroads, whereas other sites were either religious centres, or geographical landmarks. Among the latter one may find all four edges of the earth: the Pillars of Heracles and Gadeira in the West; India in the East; Scythia, Lake Maeotis and the River Tanais in the North; Ethiopia in the South. These are merely some of the geographical details contained in the journeys depicted in the first five books. The quantity of these data and their accuracy prove, in my opinion, that Diodorus planned to draw a real map of the inhabited world. In fact, his version to the journeys might be classified as written itineraries, which were frequently used throughout antiquity instead of graphic maps. He had no intention of putting a practical instrument into the hands of travellers and merchants, and thus omitted details such as the distance from one place to the other; it is highly probable, however, that he wished to produce a geographical introduction to his work, which would add credibility to it, but in a unique way, which would allow him to evade any criticism of his geographical skills. Hence he ought to be mentioned together with historians such as Herodotus and Polybius, who took more than a passing interest in geography.

Yet it is not only geographical information and resemblance to journeys made by historical figures which catch the attention of those who read Diodorus' versions of the myths. His heroes took upon themselves tasks which they carried out for the benefit of mankind (Part II Chapter 5). To put it more bluntly, they were pagan missionaries. They delivered a message to the population both within their own countries and abroad, at the same time, bringing progress with them. The message was

cultural, religious and political. Again, reality, especially the Hellenistic reality, affected the missions that Diodorus assigned to his heroes. For instance, they taught people the cultivation of wheat, barley and vine, and cultivated these plants in regions where they had never grown before. Attempts to acclimatize plants in places where they did not naturally grow had been made in the classical age, but they became widespread in the Hellenistic era, following the conquests of Alexander the Great, when the Greeks became acquainted with lands unknown to them earlier. The foundation of cities provides another remarkable example. Like kings and rulers in the Hellenistic age, from Alexander the Great through the *Diadochi*, the Seleucids, the Ptolemies and the Attalids down to Julius Caesar and Augustus, the mythical figures of Diodorus built settlements in the regions which they had conquered. Their intentions varied and suited the goals of historical individuals. They wished to commemorate their own names or those of their relatives, to strengthen their position in an occupied area, to settle their veterans as well as to take care of the natives, to create trade centres, to exploit fertile soil and to civilize the local population. The influence of Diodorus' days can also be seen in the religious mission—the heroes, for instance, established their own cult during their lifetime, as Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar did—and in the political mission—the mythical figures put in order the affairs in conquered countries, granting independence to some peoples and replacing rulers in others, thus resembling the activities of Flamininus and the Roman commissioners in Greece, Thrace and Asia Minor after the Second Macedonian War.

Another Hellenistic idea is illustrated by the political acts of the heroes. As they travelled along actual routes and visited real sites, they marched from one place to another in an order which is by and large reasonable, annexing lands and settling their affairs, thus creating an empire. This imaginary empire was used in Hellenistic literature as some kind of precedent for either existing or future imperialistic expansion.[4] Heracles' expedition, as described in the first century BCE, provides the best example. His route, depicted by Diodorus, roughly corresponds with the limits of the Roman Empire at the end of the republic and the beginning of the principate. Setting out from the Peloponnesus, he had visited Crete, Egypt, Libya, Numidia, Iberia, Gaul, Liguria, Italy, Sicily, and went back to Greece by way of Epirus. Interestingly, elsewhere in his work,

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[4] See the discussion of Mendels 1997, pp. 81–99, 243–266 (esp. 244–245); Mendels 1996, pp. 446–447.

Diodorus emphasizes the fact that Britain and Ethiopia were left out of Heracles' campaign (III.3.1, V.21.2). The notion may also be traced in the journey of Sesostris who, travelling in the world, subdued peoples, compelled them to pay tributes and put up inscriptions to make clear that he was the lord of the land. To some extent, this may be found in the story of Myrina, who left her home intending to invade many parts of the inhabited world and indeed came to the Libyan coast of the Atlantic Ocean, Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and the islands of the Aegean Sea.

In addition, the wandering gods and heroes usually return home, thus completing a circular expedition. While Plato and Polybius were concerned with the cycle of governments,[5] Diodorus reflects the cyclical concept in his geographical descriptions. Most of his heroes moved in circles: they set out from one point, returning to it at the end of their journey, never revisiting a site. Moreover, in three different occasions throughout Heracles' tale he stresses the hero's circular journey. Referring to his trip to Sicily, he writes that Heracles wished to wander around (ἐγκυκλωθῆναι) the entire island, and that while he was wandering around (ἐγκυκλούμενος) Sicily, he arrived at Syracuse. Using the same verb, he states that Heracles wandered around (ἐγκυκλωθείς) the Adriatic Sea, going around (περιελθών) it by land (IV.23.1, 23.3, 25.1).[6] Diodorus obviously creates a well-defined perimeter within which the pagan missionaries spread their messages.

Dealing with concepts which present themselves in Diodorus' depictions of the above missionary activities, two more are worth mentioning. Among their religious deeds, the mythical figures built temples and altars in foreign countries, set up cults, introduced rituals and established oracles. Consequently, the local peoples received new gods and cults which, as Diodorus stresses, continued to be a part of their religion for generations. One may, therefore, recognize an act of conversion in the religious deeds of the heroes. As the Hellenistic period in particular illustrates, such acts occurred frequently within paganism. Following the conquests of Alexander and later those of the Romans, eastern and western peoples became acquainted with new gods and cults. The cult of the ruler illustrates this point. First, Alexander wished to be honoured as a god among the Greeks; later, Caesar accepted divine honours in Rome and Octavian and Roma were jointly worshipped in places such as Asia Minor.[7]

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[5] Pl., *Resp.*, 545b–c; Polyb., VI.5.4–9.10.
[6] See also Mendels 1996, pp. 448–450.
[7] See above, Part II Chapter 5, pp. 297–298.

The concept of progress is also underlined throughout the tales. Diodorus' heroes were involved in advancing the life of mankind. They introduced new kinds of food which led to men giving up cannibalism, improved the techniques for cultivating the soil, offered methods to store and preserve food and ways to irrigate the land. If one looks for further proof of Diodorus' being "among the most optimistic of all our progressivists",[8] then he may find a convincing one in these mythological stories. For not only do these demonstrate a significant contribution to technology, which symbolises progress, but they also contain statements to the effect that the deeds of men who invented something beneficial to humankind, should be recorded in history alongside the acts of legislators and successful warriors.[9]

Even though the missionaries conferred benefits upon peoples whose lands they visited, some of these peoples rejected their actions. If one looks closely into the interaction between Diodorus' heroes and the recipients of their mission, he may discover, once again, that the Hellenistic reality penetrated into Diodorus' descriptions (Part II Chapter 6). Encountering one another, both sides either acted in a peaceful manner or took up arms against each other. Violent acts occurred when the hero had confronted resistance to his deeds or when the people under attack had been aggressive towards another people, but occasionally the missionary used force from the start in order to take control of a country. In face of surrender, however, he showed mercy. Most of the scenarios have their historical equivalents, yet the latter is also a reflection of another concept typical of Diodorus' days. Following Caesar's conduct in the Civil War, clement behaviour towards the vanquished became a recurrent topic. In fact, the whole treatment of the conquered by the mythological figures resembles that of historical leaders throughout antiquity. They destroyed a city in order to make an example of it just as Alexander ravaged Thebes in order to strike the Greeks with terror and, razing a city to the ground, they put the men to death but sold the women and the children into slavery, as the Romans did in Corinth.

At times Diodorus refers to the recipients of the cultural message as the Greeks and the barbarians, while those of the religious message were the pious (εὐσεβεῖς) and the impious (ἀσεβεῖς). The latter are the accurate terms to describe the religious recipients, but the use of the word "barbarian" has a deeper meaning. Employing the term "barbarian" to

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8 Blundell 1986, p. 196.

9 See above, Part II Chapter 5, pp. 304–306.

denote the "other" on the one hand, and expressing the notion of the unity of mankind (ὁμόνοια), on the other, makes Diodorus a typical Hellenistic author. Like Cicero, Virgil and Caesar, he needs the word "barbarian" in order to indicate racial or cultural differences yet, simultaneously, he demonstrates tolerance towards the "foreigner" in his work. This becomes apparent as one begins reading the *Bibliotheke*: it opens with a clear distinction between Greeks and barbarians, but acknowledges the importance of the latter's myths; its first pentad is imbued with journeys of gods and heroes setting out to confer benefits upon all peoples, barbarians included.

It seems that the Greek and Roman worlds both inspired Diodorus in shaping the images of his heroes, their courses and missions. Perhaps this caused the confusion of later sources, that is, St. Jerome's description of Diodorus as an author of Greek history and the *Suda*'s definition of his *Bibliotheke* as Roman as well as varied history. The dual impact is shown mostly, though not solely, by the "presence" of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar in Diodorus' versions of the myths. Their campaigns, to begin with, had an effect on all six mythical expeditions discussed here. Many of the sites which Diodorus' mythical figures called upon were visited by either Alexander or Caesar. To take a few examples, Osiris, Sesostris and Semiramis arrived at the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean and went as far as India, as did the Macedonian king; Babylon, Ecbatana, Mt. Bagistanus and Bactra, which appear in the journey of Semiramis, were visited by Alexander; the oracle of Ammon was consulted both by the Assyrian queen and Dionysus in a fashion resembling Alexander's experience; Heracles reached Capsa/Hecatompylus, Gadeira and Alesia and crossed the Alps, as did Caesar. One may also trace similarities in the itineraries. Osiris travelled through Asia in a way similar to that of Alexander and invaded Greece from Thrace using the same route that Alexander had used in his journey to Greece after the death of his father; Myrina followed Alexander's route from Cilicia to Syria and Egypt but in the opposite direction, capturing the island of Lesbos, which Alexander also brought under his sway; Sesostris split his forces, sending the fleet to India through the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, like the Macedonian fleet under Nearchus, while he himself commanded the land troops, as did Alexander.

As one may clearly see, imprints of the campaigns of Alexander and Caesar may be found in Diodorus' descriptions of all six journeys. However, examining two of these, namely the expeditions of Semiramis and Heracles, from beginning to end, proves how closely Diodorus follows

the adventures of his admirable historical figures. With Semiramis' journey, which bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Alexander, I dealt elsewhere.[10] Heracles' itinerary to the West reflects the plans attributed to Alexander, according to which he intended to go as far as the Pillars of Heracles and Gadeira by way of Carthage and Numidia, to traverse Spain, to cross the Alps into Italy and to conclude the expedition in Epirus,[11] yet it also mirrors Caesar's campaigns. Heracles founded two cities for whose destruction Caesar was responsible. One was Capsa/Hecatompylus, destroyed by Caesar during the war against Pompey's followers; the other was Alesia, captured by Caesar in the course of the war in Gaul. Heracles also visited Gadeira. Caesar arrived at Gadeira three times. It was the city in which he is reported to have first felt that he was destined for glory and later granted its inhabitants Roman citizenship. Crossing the Alps, the hero played a part very similar to that of Caesar. Heracles made a practical path out of a rough and impassable road; as a consequence, it could be traversed both by soldiers and beasts of burden. He also subdued the inhabitants of the region who used to slaughter and to plunder those who passed through the mountains, thereby making the journey safe. Caesar, according to his own words, wished to make the journey through the passage of the Alps safe and free of tolls for traders.

The last example shows that the deeds of Caesar also affected the mission which Diodorus assigned to his hero. Heracles is not the only one; other mythical figures emulate both Alexander and Caesar. For instance, attempts to acclimatize a variety of plants in regions where they had never grown before were made by Osiris and Dionysus. The case of the ivy is particularly interesting when a comparison with Alexander is concerned. It was planted by Osiris in India, where it had not existed previously, whereas Alexander's man, being instructed to transplant trees brought from Greece into the gardens of Babylon, succeeded in growing some of them, but his attempts to cultivate ivy failed. Another undertaking, typical of both Alexander and Caesar, is the foundation of cities. Except for Sesostris, all five heroes founded at least two cities during their campaign. In addition to the similarity of intentions and goals, there is a striking resemblance in Diodorus' descriptions of the foundation of Babylon by Semiramis and that of Alexandria in Egypt by Alexander. Semiramis, in addition, founded other cities along the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris rivers, in which she established trading-posts for those delivering

[10] Sulimani 2005, passim.

[11] Diod., XVIII.4.4; Plut., *Alex.*, 68.1; Arr., VII.1.2; Curt., X.1.17–18.

merchandise from all the surrounding lands. Alexander acted in the same way, founding Alexandria Eschata, for instance, which became a prosperous trade centre due to its location on the Jaxartes River. Heracles, as mentioned, founded Alesia in Gaul, settling it both with his soldiers and the natives, as did Alexander in Alexandria Eschata or Alexandria near the Caucasus Mountains. Caesar, like Heracles, operated in Gaul, founding colonies such as Narbo Martius and Arelate. Furthermore, some of his colonies, the Spanish Urso for instance, were inhabited both by Roman citizens and local inhabitants whereas others, such as Hispalis in Spain, were settled by his soldiers.

It is not clear whether Alexander thought of the assimilation of cultures when he founded his cities, but towns in which Greeks and locals dwelt side by side became in the long run the main factor in the process of exchanging customs, languages, religion and life-styles. In the same way, Roman colonies served as the melting pot of the Roman culture and the cultures of the peoples among whom these colonies were located. It seems that Diodorus was aware of the mixture of cultures which resulted from the practice of both Alexander and Caesar, expressing it in his mythological tales, as indicated by statements such as the one found in his account of Heracles: since the natives surpassed in number the other settlers of Alesia, the inhabitants as a whole became barbarous. The mention of the latter term brings to mind the similar ambivalent approach of Diodorus and Caesar towards foreigners. The latter described a German king as a thoughtless barbarian, and yet opened the Roman senate to foreigners, to whom he granted Roman citizenship. And, speaking of the impact of Alexander and Caesar, one needs to refer once again to the notions of clemency and apotheosis for which Diodorus found inspiration in his two favourite historical figures.

The deeds of these pre-eminent men left their marks also in the political and religious enterprises of the heroes. By chance, Diodorus himself recounts that Alexander, having conquered Egypt, put in order the affairs of the country. Thus, reading his description of Semiramis who, having subjugated Egypt and Ethiopia, put in order their affairs, one may be able to find similarities even in Diodorus' wording. As for religion, I have already mentioned that Semiramis and Dionysus, like Alexander, visited the oracle of Ammon. Dionysus established the oracle and initiated his universal cult, while Alexander honoured the god with magnificent votive offerings. Furthermore, both Semiramis and Alexander engaged themselves in building temples in the great cities founded by them, Babylon and Alexandria respectively.

Yet the impact of the Greek and Roman worlds on Diodorus goes beyond his admiration of Alexander and Caesar. His mythical tales were affected by the history of the Greeks and the Hellenistic kingdoms, but no less, and perhaps even more, by Roman affairs.[12] As he was a Greek author, this fact should not be taken lightly. Both earlier and later events from Roman history found their way into his stories. A striking example is the alliance made between Dionysus and Lycurgus, in order to secure Dionysus' army during his passage through Thrace, and the treachery of Lycurgus, which reminds us of the situation encountered by the Roman army on its return from Asia Minor after the defeat of Antiochus III. Moreover, Osiris and Dionysus taught men to dry and preserve fruit and cereals, including wheat, and to store wine. One cannot avoid comparing their actions to the efforts made by Gaius Gracchus to overcome the shortage of grain that befell Rome from time to time by building huge granaries in Italy, or reflecting on the advice given by Cato Maior and Terentius Varro in their essays on agriculture. One may also find hints to Octavian. Sesostris, upon his return from his campaign, relieved his subjects from the burdens caused by the wars, filling Egypt with goods. Diodorus represents Sesostris as the creator of the "Golden Age", just as Augustus had been in the eyes of Virgil.

The last case strengthens my assumption that Diodorus completed his work after the establishment of the Augustan principate. I believe that it is not by chance that his versions of the myths include items which remind the reader of Octavian/Augustus' accomplishments at the beginning of his rule as a sovereign, or accord with the verses of Augustan poets such as Virgil, Horace and Propertius. Moreover, in my opinion, the fact that the Macedonians were mentioned by Diodorus as the last rulers of Egypt can be explained (for example, it is possible that he had completed his first book before the Roman conquest of Egypt but, though still working when this conquest occurred, failed to correct his list of Egyptian rulers), and when he states that it took him thirty years to finish the work, he does not necessarily mean this literally (it may well be that he consciously rounded off the number, as was done in speeches). Adding to that Diodorus' direct statements to his time of writing, I suggest that he was engaged in working on his history from 60 to 27 BCE at the very least.

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[12] For the Roman presence in Diodorus' first books, see Yarrow 2006, pp. 154–156, 348.

Diodorus was quite concerned with the pagan mission in his first five books. Why did he emphasize it? What did he aim to achieve by presenting the journeys of gods and heroes throughout the world and the missions performed by them? In attempting to answer these questions, one should remember that he assigns to the myths an important role in the general purpose of history: to encourage men to act justly, to praise the good, to denounce evil and to present the readers with an enormous store of experience which would enable them to learn without taking risks. A close examination of his descriptions of the mythical journeys uncovers a political doctrine, one which accords with the ideas of the Hellenistic era. Each one of the heroes created an empire, in which various peoples and races coexisted. Each figure conferred benefits upon his subjects and, whenever possible, treated them with clemency. Their actions brought peace and quiet to the world. Diodorus, then, found no fault in the conquest of large parts of the world by a single nation. On the contrary, the creation of an empire was the right thing to do, since the concept of the unity of mankind can be realized within its limits. The ruler in this kind of empire should confer benefits and be merciful. Diodorus did not invent this political doctrine. His uniqueness, however, lies in expressing it through mythology. Two empires inspired him. The first was that of Alexander the Great, which did not survive without a proper leader; the second was the Roman Empire which, in the days when Diodorus was completing his *Bibliotheke*, was being successfully pacified and strengthened by one man, proud of his clemency, the heir of Julius Caesar.

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